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EUROPEANS IN WEST AFRICA
1450-1560

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EUROPEANS IN WEST AFRICA, 1450—1560

Documents to illustrate the nature and scope of Portuguese enterprise in West Africa, the abortive attempt of Castilians to create an empire there, and the early English voyages to Barbary and Guinea

Translated and edited

by

JOHN WILLIAM BLAKE, M.A.

VOLUME II

With one map

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MAP OF WEST AFRICA TO ILLUSTRATE CONTEMPORARY LAND AND SEA ROUTES. *at end of volume*

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SECTION III

THE EARLY ENGLISH VOYAGES TO
WEST AFRICA

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SECTION III

INTRODUCTION

THE documents printed in this section are intended primarily to illustrate English voyages to Barbary and Guinea prior to 1560. Some of them also contain many picturesque and informative references to prevailing conditions on the Gold Coast and in the kingdom of Benin, which the reader would find useful, should he try to visualise what life was like there under Portuguese rule. The first few, however, are mere fragments. Evidence of English activity in West Africa for the period before 1550, indeed, is so exiguous that every known document relevant to the subject has been included. Even so, the net result is little more than a bare record of isolated Guinea projects and of the infrequent departure and return of a few English ships which engaged in the African trade. Many more records have fortunately survived to illustrate the voyages undertaken during the period from 1551 to 1560, and these will allow the writer to produce something like a coherent story. Not only is the number of records greater, but also some of them are of a narrative type and much more substantial. They are full of illuminating details about trade, navigation, climatic and geographical conditions on the coast, the habits and customs, and the kingdoms and divisions, of the negro peoples, and the relations existing along the coast between the negroes and the Portuguese.

The reader will observe that, whereas in the first section of this book Portuguese records were chosen to illustrate the situation on the Guinea coast only, in this section space has been allotted to the inclusion of records of voyages to Barbary. This was deliberate. The voyages of Englishmen to the ports of the Barbary coast and then on to those of Guinea form associated parts of a single story. To attempt to differentiate sharply

between the Barbary voyages and the Guinea voyages would be to make a distinction which was not substantially valid in the reign of Queen Mary. One contemporary, indeed, confused the two regions as late as the year 1571, when he stated that his ship was bound upon a voyage 'unto Caput Viride & soe unto the quoast of Barbarye'¹. The normal procedure, of course, was to sail to Barbary and so on to Guinea. All the voyages were African enterprises fundamentally of the same type, though some were longer and some more hazardous than others; and the distinction, which Elizabethans afterwards recognised between the merchants trading to Barbary and the merchants trading to Guinea, was not clearly apparent to the bold pioneers of the period 1551-60. At this time, all the African voyages were promoted by the same, vaguely defined, group of speculative, but far-sighted, English merchants. The same ships were employed indiscriminately on the one or the other voyage. Thus, we find the *John Evangelist* occupied in a Mina voyage during the winter of 1554-5, and in the spring and summer of 1559 this same ship went on a Barbary voyage. Moreover, all ships for West Africa followed as far as possible the same outward course: once the coast of Barbary had been sighted, all ships alike sailed forward, keeping close to the coast, to their respective destinations². The essential unity of these early maritime enterprises will be more readily appreciated by the reader, if he remember that the Guinea voyage was naturally and historically a development of the Barbary voyage, and that both were developments of earlier Anglo-Iberian trade. Records of the Barbary trade, some of them printed for the first time, have accordingly been included in order that the reader will be able to trace for himself the steps in the historical process by which Englishmen eventually reached the Gold Coast.

¹ PRO, HCA 13/18. 1 April 1571. Deposition of John Garrett.

² The usual English sea-route to Guinea was via the Madeira and Canary islands. From the Canaries, the ships would sail south-east towards the Barbary coast, where they generally made a landfall somewhere north of Cape Blanco, and perhaps as far north as Cape Bojador. It is not certain, however, that ships destined for Safi or Agadir in the reign of Queen Mary always set a course via the islands. They may have taken a more direct route. There is not sufficient evidence to allow an answer to be given to this question.

THE VALUE OF THE ENGLISH NARRATIVE RECORDS. These English records of West Africa, taken as a whole, are in some ways more informative than the collections of Portuguese and Spanish documents printed in the two preceding sections. Many of the latter are administrative records of one kind or another, and in this connection this class of record, while it may disclose something of the shipping making its way to Guinea, and something of the personnel and organisation of the empire of Portugal in West Africa, sheds little light upon the broader subject of native life and contemporary conditions on the coast. There are only a few narrative passages among the Iberian records. Of the Spanish records it may be said that the excerpts from the chronicle of Alonso de Palencia alone contain any details about the country and the inhabitants of any part of Guinea. With a few notable exceptions, this is equally true of the Portuguese records, which circumstance can in part be explained by the national policy of secrecy and in part by the great Lisbon earthquake of 1755, when so many precious records were destroyed. The resulting loss has been in some measure repaired by the English records, because some of them are narrative in type and comprehensive in treatment. Unlike the Portuguese records, these narratives, when first published, were deliberately and in some instances expressly designed to inform, and to disseminate little known facts about a strange and remote land to a people, the English, whose minds were just at that time coming under Renaissance influences.

The narratives, referred to here, are the following: (1) James Thomas's relation of the second voyage to Barbary (1552); (2) Richard Eden's accounts of the Windham voyage to Benin (1553) and the Lok voyage to Mina (1554-5); and (3) William Towerson's journals of his three Mina voyages (1555-6, 1556-7 and 1558). All were incorporated by Richard Hakluyt in the first edition of the *Principal navigations*, which appeared in 1589, and reproduced in the second edition of 1599. All contain precious descriptive passages, relating to the winds and currents encountered off the West African coast by English navigators in their voyages, the native chiefs, merchants and peoples, with whom they trafficked and negotiated, the negro towns and vil-

lages, and the commodities and characteristics of the countries visited by the English, all this being information of a kind such as is rarely found in the Portuguese records. These narratives have an additional value. They present a picture of conditions along the Barbary and Guinea coasts from the English point of view. The writers describe the general situation as the English saw it, and not as the Portuguese monopolists would have wished it to appear to their envious rivals. The Portuguese always represented the position as eminently favourable to themselves, especially in the sense that they were the dominant power on the coast, and that they exercised an unchallenged lordship over the negro tribes, exacting tribute from many of the chieftains, and by their untiring and unstinting efforts carrying the gospel successfully to great numbers of Moors and negroes previously heathen. The English version of the situation, as exemplified in these narratives, was very different. They claimed that the lordship of their enemies did not extend beyond a few fortified posts, and the evidence, which is incorporated in their narrative records, more than substantiates this. In many respects, of course, the English version was as far removed from the truth as the Portuguese. National prejudice, political interest, and commercial advantage demanded misrepresentation on both sides. But, by the collation of English narratives with Portuguese administrative records, it is possible to get closer to the real facts of the situation. Thus, these narratives, besides supplying additional information of a picturesque kind, afford an alternative view of prevailing conditions on the coast.

Their value, however, is conditioned by the various whims, deficiencies and faults of their respective authors. The latter, as explained above, were all prejudiced against the Portuguese. But for other reasons, their narratives cannot always be taken literally. Some of them were prone to give more play to their imaginations than to their powers of observation. In others, the critical faculty was undeveloped or not highly developed, for they were mariners, skilled in the science of navigation, but not practised in the art of historiography. Moreover, some of the narratives have come down to us only at second-hand. Furthermore, nautical details, furnished in the narratives, are some-

times inaccurate, and distances are sometimes misjudged. Place-names are variously spelled and occasionally even wrongly applied, and more often than not the negro towns and villages, and the trading points on the coast frequented by the English, are not given names. Nor is there in any of the narratives any serious attempt, based upon reliable sources or personal observation, to describe contemporary conditions within the interior of West Africa, except where Richard Eden twice digresses to give a short description of Africa, and in these two instances he draws his information, not from trustworthy contemporaries, Moors, negroes or Portuguese, but mainly from rumour and the works of classical writers! Neither did any of the writers seek immortality by producing for his readers a comprehensive account of the history of the Portuguese discovery and conquest of Guinea, or a full and careful description of the forts and settlements of the Portuguese on the coast. Nothing on a large scale appeared in print until the end of the sixteenth century, when Dutch writers took the matter in hand and did it thoroughly. It is strange that Englishmen neglected to attempt it in the reign of Queen Mary, when they were so active in their prosecution of the Guinea trade. Their countrymen were singularly ignorant of West Africa. When, early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the English privy council were engaged in negotiations with the Portuguese ambassador in London about the English incursion into West Africa, the members of the council knew so little about the situation on the Guinea coast that Martin Frobisher had to be called in to make a statement about what he knew of conditions there. Yet the narrators of the early English voyages did not labour to enlighten their countrymen. They seem to have taken it for granted that their readers would know something about the nature and extent of the Portuguese empire. The reason for this attitude was probably that they were primarily interested to describe their own voyages. The situation of their rivals was of secondary importance to them, seeing that long stretches of the Guinea coast lay open and free to their merchants and not under Portuguese rule. Be this as it may, their allusions to the Portuguese are for the most part only incidental.

A few illustrations will perhaps assist the reader to estimate the value of these narrative records and to distinguish more easily between fact and fiction. First it may be said that the existing record of the second voyage to Barbary is authentic, but it is short, in some particulars untrustworthy, and as a whole not very informative about the country. It was written at second-hand and possibly long after the event. Richard Hakluyt was evidently unable to secure copies of the pilot's log of any of the three ships which went on the voyage. He had to content himself with the relation of James Thomas, as he states in his sub-title. Thomas was page to Thomas Windham, the commander of the expedition, and we may presume that Hakluyt reproduced the relation exactly as he received it. It seems to have been written from memory. Thomas was unable to recall the exact date of any event in the voyage. He could only remember that the fleet left Bristol 'about the beginning of May 1552', that a fortnight later the ships put in to the port of Safi, that they spent nearly three months at Santa Cruz, and that after taking seven or eight weeks on the homeward voyage from Lanzarote island, they reached London at the end of October. Nor did he attempt to describe in detail what he saw and heard in the land of Barbary. The events and circumstances, which he remembered well, were not the doings of his countrymen at Safi and Santa Cruz, or the ways and customs of the Moors, but, as might be expected, the more spectacular encounters which the English had, first with a French ship at Santa Cruz, and secondly with the islanders of Lanzarote. His relation, therefore, should not be regarded as a well-balanced and entirely trustworthy account of the voyage, but rather as a record of those incidents which were still vivid in the memory of the writer, when afterwards—perhaps years afterwards—he came to put pen to paper to oblige Richard Hakluyt.

The writings of Richard Eden, the author of the extant accounts of the voyages of Windham and Lok to Guinea, also suffer from some of the defects enumerated above. As far as is known, he did not visit West Africa in person. His records of the two voyages were based upon what he learned directly or indirectly from others who had taken part in them. As for the

Windham voyage, he does not disclose the names of those who gave him details, but he admits honestly that he had been persuaded to describe the voyage 'as briefly and faithfully as I was advertised of the same, by the information of such credible persons as made diligent inquisition to know the truth thereof'. The substance of his account was thus manifestly collected at second-hand. Whoever were his informants, they were not friends of the deceased Windham, for Eden displays a marked prejudice against this notorious privateer, who sailed in command of the first, and ill-fated, English expedition to Benin. This being so, it is not improbable that Eden contacted some of the disgruntled mariners, or their friends and relations, rather than the wealthier merchants who promoted the voyage, for the latter had profited from it and had no apparent cause to be sore with Windham. The information, which Eden eventually secured, was not complete in all particulars: there is no reference in his narrative to the fight between the English and the Portuguese on Deserta island (described in doc. 130), and only a vague allusion to 'Francisco a Portugale', that is, to Francisco Rodrigues, a renegade pilot from the Azores, who piloted the expedition and took a leading part in the raid on Deserta (docs. 128, 130); the trading points on the Mina coast visited by the English are unnamed; and the name of the ship—the *Lion*—abandoned off Benin omitted with all details (doc. 132). While no evidence has come to light to show that Eden's narrative is wrong in any important particular, yet it will be obvious from what has been said that his second-hand information was not very complete. It is possible that he himself realised this and tried to make up for any serious omissions by adding his 'briefe description of Afrike'. In this there are gross defects. Eden shows himself to be credulous, imaginative, unscientific, and very much influenced by classical and biblical tradition. Perhaps the most fantastic passage is that relating to the 'great and mighty emperour and christian king Prester John', whose kingdom, we are informed, 'confineth with the Red Sea, and reacheth far into Afrike toward Aegypt and Barbarie', and southward 'confineth with the sea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza'. Eden, of course, is not more credulous than most of his con-

temporaries. If he allows his imagination to run riot in his description of central Africa, this was the custom. Even the renowned João de Barros, whose works were produced a few short years before Eden's *Decades*, believed that the country of Prester John 'was in the land above Egypt whence it stretched to the southern sea'¹. It is to Eden's lasting credit that he was the first Englishman to publish a description of Africa in the vernacular. Providing one remembers that his writings on geography suffered from the usual defects of his age, even the 'description' may be profitably studied.

His account of Lok's voyage is more trustworthy. He discloses that the narrative was based upon the record of 'an expert pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who also with his owne hands wrote a briefe declaration of the same'. The reader, if he studies the record of the voyage, will realise that here we have a careful pilot's log, preserved perhaps almost intact, rather than a mere summary of general facts obtained at second-hand, as in the case of the Windham voyage. But Eden supplemented the plain narrative of the pilot with a very uncritical appendix on 'the countrey and people', including the negroes, whom he confuses with Moors and supposes to be so scorched and vexed by the heats of the sun that they curse it at sunrise! He drew his materials from many sources, from rumour and report, from classical writers such as Pliny and Josephus, and even from his own vivid imagination. He does not try to sort out the reliable from the doubtful. He reproduces without question many of the ancient and medieval beliefs and superstitions about Africa. This appendix, however, is not wholly valueless, because towards the end there are a few authentic passages, based upon the disjointed reports of 'men of good credit that were in this last voiage to Guinea'. The chief of these passages, to which special attention may be drawn because they are original, fresh, vigorous and informative, are the following: the description of the ornamental dress of the negroes, based apparently upon what the English mariners had seen on the Mina coast, the reference to the shrewdness of the negro merchants, the description of the dwellings and the foods of the

¹ *Asia*, dec. 1, bk. 3, ch. 4.

natives, and the note that it took only seven weeks to reach Mina but twenty to return. As a general rule, the reader will not find it difficult to distinguish the true from the false in Eden's narratives.

The special defect of the Windham and Lok narratives results from the fact that they were reproduced by Richard Eden with his additions and embellishments. In this respect, they differ from the surviving narratives of the three voyages of William Towerson. We are indebted to Hakluyt for the preservation of the latter, and he was wiser than Eden in that he confined himself strictly to the duties of an editor. There is every reason for believing that he printed Towerson's manuscripts just as he received them, making no evident alteration. In the process, then, by which these narratives have come down to us, the margin of error was small. The Towerson narratives, as a result, are much more reliable. Moreover, Towerson kept a very full journal of his voyages, and the records are thus more complete. It is to be regretted, perhaps, that he did not record more of what he saw of the coast and the natives of upper Guinea. His three journals contain nothing more than a mere enumeration of the chief landmarks, and the distances covered on the course, from his landfall on the coast of Barbary to his arrival at the river Sestos, where his ships approached close to the land so that his men could barter with the negroes for malagueta pepper. But Towerson, and the merchants who financed his expeditions, were primarily interested in the gold of Mina, and the important part of his journals accordingly relates to the coast of Mina and the negro tribes living there. Because his narratives are trustworthy and substantial, however, taken together they form the principal source of evidence about the situation on the Gold Coast during the middle of the sixteenth century.

The Windham, Lok and Towerson narratives have certain defects in common. Latitudes, when stated, are seldom accurate. In the account of the Windham voyage, for example, Benin is vaguely described as a country 'being under the equinoctial line', whereas the mouth of the Benin river is actually $5^{\circ} 46' N$. This is a more than usually serious error. Lok's pilot also made slight errors in his calculations, and so did the pilots who navi-

gated the ships under Towerson's command; but theirs were the usual mistakes, of which contemporaries were commonly guilty owing to the unreliable methods used for such calculations¹. Figures for longitude, of course, are not given in any of the narratives. The contemporary custom, by which a pilot, in describing his course, would make reference to outstanding landmarks and draw attention in his log to any special features of the coast, which he noticed, was faithfully observed by the English. Lok's pilot and William Towerson followed it. As a method of ascertaining one's position at sea in an age when the measurement of longitude was extremely difficult, this was undoubtedly helpful for the contemporary navigator, but it may be confusing or meaningless for the modern scholar. References to a line of high red cliffs, to a shallow foreshore, or to woods and distinctive groups of palm trees, are sometimes invalidated by the destructive processes of time, and so are not very useful data for the modern scholar, who seeks to graph the course taken by a given pilot of those times, or to identify the places visited by that pilot. Identification becomes even more difficult when places are misnamed or unnamed, and of this both Eden and Towerson are guilty. Thus, Eden refers by name to 'a castle called Arra', which, according to him, was situated on the Mina coast five leagues to the north-west of Cape Three Points. The name he uses suggests a mis-spelling for Accra (actually situated, of course, east of the cape), but the site given for this fort and the context of the reference leave no doubt that he meant Axim. In this instance, either Eden, or the 'expert pilot' from whom he obtained his narrative, was guilty of a serious mistake. To quote another example of carelessness, taken this time from the journal of Towerson's third voyage: while in one place we are told that the negro village of Egrand was eight leagues east of

¹ A comparison of a few of Lok's latitudes with those of Pacheco illustrates the point that very little progress had been made in such calculations during the first half of the sixteenth century:

<i>Place</i>	<i>Lok</i>	<i>Pacheco</i>	<i>Actual</i>
Cape Barbas	22° 30' N.	21° 30' N.	22° 20' N.
Cape Mesurado	c. 6° N.	6° 20' N.	6° 19' N.
River Sestos	5° 40' N.	5° 30' N.	5° 26' N.
Cape Palmas	4° 20' N.	4° 10' N.	4° 22' N.

Winneba, in another we are informed that Winneba was ten leagues to the westward of Egrand! It has not been possible to identify Egrand from its name¹, and this conflicting evidence complicates the problem.

The value of the text of each of these narratives can sometimes be checked (*a*) by a comparison with other sources of evidence, and (*b*) by a search for inherent contradictions. In the case of the two cited examples, the reader will see that the use of these methods has exposed errors which might otherwise have gone undetected. We may well wonder, then, how many other similar mistakes exist.

Towerson's journals have another defect. He had the tantalising habit of recording how his men put off in boats from their ships to visit village after village to barter with the negroes for gold dust, without naming these places. This is specially noticeable in the journal of the first voyage. It is, as a result, virtually impossible to trace the exact course followed by the ships under his command. One extenuating circumstance, however, should be remembered in this connection. The location of negro villages on the Mina coast was not fixed. Political or economic changes sometimes resulted in the desertion or destruction of even a large negro town, and when this happened, the inhabitants migrated elsewhere to make themselves new homes. This was not an unusual event. It was used as a threat in 1482 by the chief Caramansa against Diogo d'Azambuja. Towerson himself came across an instance of it in 1557, for when in March his men came to Mouri, a popular trading resort for gold, they were told that 'the negroes that dwelled at Mowre were gone to dwell at Lagova [Laguy]' (doc. 143). So even where places on the coast can be identified by name, it must not be assumed that their sites were necessarily the same as today.

Too much importance, however, should not be attached to the deficiencies in the value of these narrative records. Such deficiencies as exist, after all, are as a whole minor in character, and against them must be set the positive value of the records, which is substantially great. Perhaps it would be true to say that their primary value arises from the fact that they furnish evi-

¹ There is some ground for identifying Egrand with Accra.

dence about conditions in Guinea which is otherwise not available. No comprehensive Portuguese description of Guinea for the middle of the sixteenth century has yet come to light, but what is lacking in Portuguese records is supplied by these English narratives. Secondly, they have also the value of affording a view of the extent of Portuguese power in Guinea alternative to that claimed by the ambassadors of Portugal abroad in the latter's efforts to champion their monopoly. Thirdly, they record the progress of English trade with West Africa. All things considered, whatever their limitations, it is difficult to exaggerate their historical value.

RECORDS SUPPLEMENTARY TO HAKLUYT. Many of the documents printed below are new, or are translated into English and printed for the first time. They are intended to supplement the records reproduced from the *Principal navigations*, and to give a balanced picture of the progress of English navigation and trade with West Africa between 1480 and 1560. It cannot be claimed for them, however, that they contribute substantially to existing knowledge of English voyages to West Africa during the period. But they do throw new light upon the subject. This will become clearer, if we attempt a brief review of the more important supplementary documents.

Doc. 108 gives proof of English interest in Guinea in the reign of King Henry VII. It also affords a new, and early, example of the close connection, which always seems to have existed, between those English merchants whose eyes were turned to the new lands overseas and various Portuguese renegades and exiles.

Docs. 110-13 confirm and supplement Hakluyt's all-too-brief reference to the voyages of the *Paul* to Guinea and Brazil, promoted by William Hawkins the Elder during the period 1530-32. They demonstrate that Hawkins did not give up his interest in the Guinea trade after 1532, as Hakluyt's evidence would suggest, but that he was still actively pursuing the trade as late as 1540.

Much illustrative detail, omitted by Eden and Hakluyt from their accounts of Guinea voyages undertaken in the reign of Queen Mary, is furnished in a number of documents which have been extracted mainly from the records of the high court of admiralty in the Public Record Office. Docs. 123-5 give the

names of the chief promoters of the Windham voyage to Benin, show that mariners were pressed into service on ships bound for Guinea, record the preparations made at Portsmouth for this voyage, and disclose the rate of pay usual on such a voyage for a quartermaster. Docs. 126-8 throw more light upon the attempt of King John III of Portugal to prevent two pilots of his country from taking part in the Windham voyage. The raid on Madeira island, carried out by Windham on the outward voyage, is described in some detail in doc. 130; in the following document, reference seems to be made to his plundering of Portuguese shipping off the Malagueta coast; while doc. 132 records some details about the loss of a ship, the *Lion*, which was abandoned off Benin, and illustrates the acute distress of the surviving mariners on the homeward voyage. No documentary material about Lok's voyage has come to light, except that doc. 141 contains a statement of Martin Frobisher's observations while a prisoner in the castle of São Jorge da Mina. Frobisher sailed with Lok, and a few references to the Lok voyage are made in his statement. Nor is there any new evidence about the first and second Towerson voyages to Guinea. Docs. 146-7, however, give proof that the *Christopher Bennett*, one of four ships which Towerson commanded on his third voyage, did not return to England, but was lost off the French coast on the way home. They also show that the rate of pay to a gunner (20/- per month) was the same as that made to a quartermaster pressed to serve in the Guinea navigation.

The most important, new, contribution to our knowledge of English voyages to West Africa may be found in the collection of documents, printed below, relating to the Barbary voyages. It is possible, in the light of the new documents, to write something like a coherent account of the English Barbary trade during the period 1551-60. Doc. 114 shows that English privateers were preying on foreign shipping off the Barbary coast as early as 1546. The next document suggests that a continuous English trade with Barbary may have been instituted onwards from 1548. That voyages to Barbary in 1555 were undertaken is proved by docs. 134-6. These are of special interest, because they include a charter-party (doc. 134), and the earliest bill of

lading, known to exist, made by an Englishman while on West African soil (doc. 135). The charter-party, which does not differ substantially in form from the usual agreement, discloses the names of the merchants trading in temporary partnership to Barbary, sets out the manner and form of the voyage of the *Grace of God*, which is to sail to Safi and then to Cape Ghir and so return straight to England, and includes interesting details about cargoes, weights, measures, and freight charges. It is altogether a very illuminating record. Doc. 137 indicates that at this time some trade was carried on with the Moors of Barbary overland from southern Spain. Docs. 150-5 relate to English traffic to Barbary during the years 1558-9, giving proof that resident English factors were employed in Barbary in 1558, and describing the voyages of the *Mary Martin* and the *John Evangelist* to Barbary in 1559. These records, taken as a whole, tell us much more about the Barbary trade during the period than the reader will find in the *Principal navigations*. Hakluyt has preserved only two records. One is a letter written by a certain James Alday, in which reference is made to 'the first voyage to Barbary' of 1551 (doc. 117). The other, as explained above, contains a relation by James Thomas of the second voyage which was undertaken in the following year (doc. 119). Hakluyt's entries are very incomplete. The new records do more than provide a mere supplement to Hakluyt's. They carry the story of the traffic on through the years 1555, 1558 and 1559, and they open a window upon the sort of thing that happened in Barbary, when the English factors were negotiating with the Moors and with the Jewish merchants who acted as intermediaries in the trade. On the basis of these documents, it is possible to write a new chapter in the early history of the Barbary trade.

ENGLISH TRADE WITH WEST AFRICA, 1480-1560. One of the main threads of interest in the records, printed below, is what they disclose about the growth of English trade with West Africa. It is well known that, under the inspiration of the New Monarchy, the English began to send an increasing number of their own ships to remote foreign parts and especially to the lands which had been recently discovered in Africa and America. This movement was exemplified by their approach to Barbary

and Guinea. Their trade with West Africa gradually developed from small beginnings at the end of the fifteenth century until it became regular and important in the reign of Queen Mary. Its origins are obscure. Records suggest that it was an off-shoot of Anglo-Iberian trade, but the exact sequence of its growth cannot now be traced in detail from the various fragments of evidence which have survived time's ravages. If we may trust such evidence as we have, it would seem that the interest of a few, bold Englishmen was first aroused about 1480, when they received news of the African discoveries of the Portuguese. But this interest was confined to a few and it was not sustained. It soon waned. After 1488, more than forty years passed before any Englishman again displayed an active interest in Barbary or Guinea. Then, in 1530, William Hawkins the Elder, probably copying what the French were doing, sent a ship to Guinea and from there to Brazil and so home, repeating this triangular voyage in 1531 and again in 1532. The record of his exploits, if it revived dim memories and caught the imagination of his countrymen, has been almost entirely lost. Only a few fragments have survived, and a fact which emerges from these is that, while others besides him were interested in the Brazil trade, he alone was interested in Guinea and even his interest died after 1540. So the African trade was again abandoned. It was not taken up anew until the very middle of the century, and then, at length, it proved vigorous and lasting. Regular traffic to Barbary and Guinea was instituted onwards from 1551.

There is some evidence for thinking that the first English voyage to West Africa was attempted in the reign of King Edward IV. The circumstances were inauspicious, for an England wearied and wasted by baronial and dynastic wars was in poor condition to support new and hazardous enterprises. It has been suggested, however, that the partial expulsion of the English from the Iceland fisheries, and the victory of the Hansa over them in the Baltic, may at that time have forced them to look further afield for a livelihood¹. If this be true, then rumours,

¹ K. M. Eliot, 'Beginnings of English trade with Guinea and the East Indies, 1550-99' (an unpublished thesis in the Library of the University of London; 1916), ch. 1.

which perhaps reached them through their agents in Flanders or Andalusia or Portugal, of fortunes made in the gold trade of the recently explored Mina coast would certainly have aroused their interest. Whatever the cause, some Englishmen were not blind to the new possibilities. They found an informed and influential ally in the person of Enrique de Guzman, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who was himself keenly interested in Guinea, hostile to the Portuguese monopolists, and greedy to obtain the island of Santiago for his own (docs. 88, 91). He encouraged two of them, John Tintam and William Fabian, to make ready a fleet which was to be sent to Guinea. While preparations were going forward, however, John II of Portugal protested, sending ambassadors to England to confirm the alliance between the two countries. The members of the embassy brought with them documentary proofs of the right and title to the lordship of Guinea held by John II, and instructions to ask Edward IV to forbid the assembling of any fleet in his kingdom and to refuse permission to any person to go to Guinea, and, in particular, to demand the disbanding of the ships of Tintam and Fabian. To all these requests Edward IV acceded. English voyages to Guinea were forbidden by public proclamation, and the ambassadors, after securing confirmation of the peace, returned to their own country with a written guarantee from the king that he would abide by his promises. The Tintam fleet presumably did not sail.

Only two accounts of this episode exist, one written by the chronicler Pina and the other by his contemporary Resende (docs. 105, 106). Each is a Portuguese record, and neither can be checked by reference to independent evidence. No English version of what happened has survived. The second, that is, Resende's account, was noticed by Hakluyt, who printed it with a translation in the *Principal navigations*. The only important difference between the two is that, while Pina dates the Portuguese embassy to England in the year 1482, Resende gives it as 1481. The word of Pina must be allowed to be more reliable than that of Resende, because a comparison of the two chronicles will leave little doubt in the critical reader's mind that Resende copied large parts of his chronicle verbatim from Pina. This

would suggest that the year of the embassy was 1482, and not, as Hakluyt, relying upon Resende, wrote, 1481. There are sound alternative reasons for believing that the ambassadors came to England in 1482. Pina records that they were sent in the same year as others, including himself as secretary, visited Castile, and it is known that the embassy to Castile was undertaken in the year 1482. Moreover, from independent evidence we learn that the ancient alliance between Portugal and England was confirmed on 8 February 1482 at Montemor and on the following September 13 at Westminster¹. This suggests the despatch of envoys from Portugal, after the alliance had been confirmed in that country, to secure ratification of the peace in London. Pina's entry conforms to this very closely. According to him, King John II was staying at Montemor, when he sent the ambassadors 'to confirm the ancient leagues' and to protest against the preparation of English fleets for Guinea. From this, we may infer that the decision to send an embassy was taken at the time of the renewal of the alliance, that is, in February 1482. So the ambassadors came to England in the spring. During the summer of 1482, they were presumably engaged in the negotiations in London which led up to the ratification of the alliance in September; and it is more than probable that at the same time, perhaps as one of the unwritten conditions of the alliance, they secured the prohibition of voyages to Guinea. If this is so, the veto would have been proclaimed, as one might expect, in the very season—the autumn—when it was usual and most expedient to set sail for Guinea. The evidence, meagre though it be, all fits. So we may discard Resende's date. It was in 1482 that Tintam and Fabian, encouraged by Enrique de Guzman, made ready in an unknown English port to set forth on their pioneer voyage².

There is one other significant fragment of evidence, which may be related to this plan to send ships to Guinea. On 27

¹ T. Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, literae et cuiuscunque generis acta publica* (1704-32), XII, 145, 163.

² It has so far proved impossible to identify either Tintam or Fabian. But there were merchants, named Fabian, trading in London at this time, and at least one of the Fabians was engaged in oversea trade (Blake, pp. 60-1). Perhaps the expedition to Guinea was to have been made from London.

February 1481, King Edward IV had informed Pope Sixtus IV that 'he willingly permits his subjects to pass over to any parts of Africa for traffic and the exchange of baser merchandise for nobler', and accordingly had petitioned him to grant 'letters' for 'this voyage', the letters to be dated from the previous November 1 (doc. 107). This petition would appear to have reference to an unrecorded English voyage to Africa, which was undertaken perhaps during the winter of 1480-1. It is not impossible that Tintam and Fabian, organisers of a Guinea voyage in 1482, had already completed an earlier voyage in 1480-1, and that Edward IV's application to Rome was made on their behalf¹. The activities of Englishmen at this time were certainly causing the Portuguese some annoyance, because they were named in a general complaint, voiced in the Portuguese Cortes in 1482, about the presence of foreigners in John II's imperial dominions². But a connection, if connection there were, between the English king's petition and the plans of Tintam and Fabian cannot be definitely established.

Interest in Guinea did not evaporate with the dismantling of the Tintam fleet in the autumn of 1482. There must have been merchants in England, who still secretly desired to test their theories about quick and easy returns in the Mina trade, for when the Count of Penamacor, having adopted the name Pero Nunez, came as an exile to her shores and offered to assist prospective adventurers, he appears to have encountered no difficulty in finding allies. Penamacor, a typical feudatory, had opposed the centralising and despotic policy of King John II, and, after a short struggle between his adherents and those of

¹ I have drawn attention in my *European beginnings* (pp. 61-2) to three curious facts about this petition which suggest that it was connected with an attempt to encourage English trade with Guinea. The papal permit was to be antedated from November, which was a suitable month for the commencement of a Guinea voyage from England; Edward IV's application to the pope on behalf of the voyagers suggests that an expedition was to be made to a region (land or water) already granted by the pope to another power, and Africa beyond Cape Bojador was Portuguese by papal grant; and the phrase 'the exchange of baser merchandise for nobler', used in the petition, suggests that the English traders were going to barter away beads, and other trifles, in exchange for gold at Mina.

² Santarem, *Memorias para a historia e theoria das Cortes Geraes* (1828), II, 200-1.

the crown, he had been forced to flee the country. He came to England in 1488, where he found men ready to co-operate with him in preparations for an assault upon Guinea. Penamacor 'bought merchandise and goods for the trades and barthers of Guinee [and] summoned and incited certain persons and ship-owners . . . for this purpose; and these people were already in some manner ready to sail' (doc. 108). But the spies of John II were as speedy to report on the count's preparations as they had formerly reported on Tintam and Fabian. At this time, the government of Portugal, in its anxiety to protect its oceanic monopoly beyond Cape Bojador, seems to have employed an army of spies, whose duty it was to unearth and expose all maritime preparations in the ports of western Europe, directed against Africa, Brazil or the Indies¹, and to report upon them to their paymasters at Antwerp and Lisbon. The net seems to have been spread very wide, because scarcely any potential interlopers ever entirely escaped its meshes. Penamacor certainly did not. His clandestine activities in England evidently aroused much anxiety at the court of John II. Accordingly, Alvaro de Caminha, who was afterwards appointed captain of the island of São Thomé, was now commissioned to equip and arm a caravel and to sail to England, where 'by some trick or pretence' he was to seize the person of the exile and bring him back to Portugal. This first plan, however, was never carried out, and Pina, who records these events, does not explain the reason. A second way of stopping the intended voyage was then tried. João Alvarez Rangel, a knight of the household of the king, was appointed a special envoy to the court of King Henry VII of England and instructed to ask for the seizure and surrender of the count's person. Henry VII ordered an arrest, but, 'after holding his council about the entire question', refused to hand the count over to the Portuguese, in spite of the insistent arguments of a new arrival from Portugal, the licentiate Aires d'Almada. Penamacor was detained for some time in the Tower of London, and, when released, he made his way to Spain where he died.

¹ The reader will understand, of course, that the reports of these spies in the reign of King John II (1481-95) were confined to information about possible interloping in Guinea.

Pina's description of the incident contains no more. But from what he says, it is clear that the occasion was of some significance in the obscure history of the beginnings of English over-sea enterprise. His manner of writing indicates that the question of the detention or surrender of the count's person was vigorously debated between the English government and the emissaries of Portugal, while his reference to a meeting of the royal council suggests that there was influential opposition to a policy of acquiescence in the Portuguese demands, an opposition which was possibly inspired by interested merchants. Yet English records are quite silent. There is only one documentary record bearing upon the affair, and it may be found in a transcript in the Public Record Office¹, taken from the Simancas archives. We learn from it that, on 11 October 1488, Gonzalez de Puebla, the Spanish ambassador in London, wrote to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella about the business of the Count of Penamacor, but what he wrote is not recorded. The bare reference, however, is valuable, because it confirms the date of the arrival of the count in England, and because it substantiates Pina on a subject, the Portuguese empire, about which the Portuguese chroniclers were perforce or purposely vague and sometimes even inaccurate. In the circumstances, that the count came to England in 1488 and joined with unknown merchants in a plan to make a voyage to Guinea may be unquestionably accepted. His initial success exemplifies the gradual awakening of England to existing opportunities in trade and exploration².

If any serious enthusiasm for African discovery was aroused by the events of the years 1480-8, it was either not sustained or the attention of imaginative Englishmen was diverted during the next few years by the Cabotian plan to reach the Indies. Africa was possibly thought to be of small importance by comparison with the potential riches of the East, a not unnatural outlook, for at this time even the Portuguese, though they were drawing

¹ PRO, Trans. 11/1 B.25.

² No writer hitherto, as far as I am aware, has drawn attention to this significant plan to make a voyage to Guinea in 1488. The Count's presence in England illustrates one of the important ways in which Englishmen came to take an interest in oversea exploration.

a regular and substantial income from Mina, were apt to display, in public, if not in private, a greater interest in the more spectacular, but at first less profitable, achievements of their countrymen in India and Malacca. King Manuel, who ascended the throne of Portugal in 1495, inspired by the outlook of a wealthy merchant prince, was doubtless anxious to divert attention from the gold of Mina, and he could count it a considerable political success that the gaze of England should be focussed upon chimerical projects, such as the search for a north-west passage. If this were his plan, it was fruitful. The annals of English maritime enterprise from 1489 to 1529 contain no vestige of evidence about discussions, preparations, or voyages, relating to Guinea.

It was William Hawkins the Elder who revived the flagging spirit of imperial England. Hakluyt records that between 1530 and 1532 Hawkins made three voyages in the *Paul*, a ship of 250 tons, from Plymouth to Brazil, and that on the outward voyage he:

. . . touched at the river of Sestos upon the coast of Guinea, where hee traffiqued with the negros, and tooke of them elephants' teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth (doc. 109).

This single sentence conceals the full story of his operations in Guinea, and there is no documentary evidence to substantiate these voyages or to furnish more details about them. There is slight ground, however, for believing that Hawkins was engaged on a voyage to 'unknown countries' shortly before 1536¹, and definite evidence that in 1540 he sent the *Paul* to Guinea and Brazil. Two entries in the Plymouth Customs Accounts, discovered by Dr. J. A. Williamson, record, firstly, the departure of the *Paul* from Plymouth on 24 February 1540, under a certain John Landye as master and carrying a miscellaneous cargo suitable for barter on the African coast, and, secondly, the ship's return on the following October 20 with a cargo of brazil wood and elephants' teeth (docs. 110, 111). The details of the outward and inward cargoes, taken with the period of the voyage, afford

¹ A scholarly study of all the evidence may be found in J. A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins* (1927), pp. 6-19.

pretty clear proof that the *Paul* had sailed to Guinea and Brazil¹. Customs on the goods exported and imported were paid by William Hawkins. Better indirect proof that Hawkins was a participant in the Guinea trade could not be offered.

Dr. Williamson has made the likely suggestion that Hawkins derived the idea of making a triangular voyage from England to Brazil via Guinea from various French merchants, with whom he had made contact in the normal course of English trade with Rochelle and other French ports. He has added that John Landye, the master of the *Paul* on the Brazil voyage, may have been a Frenchman and a specialist in the tropical passage who had been hired for the occasion; and this also is not improbable, for at this time there was some co-operation between French and English merchants in the developing Brazil trade². If Landye were French, he may have settled afterwards in England, and hired himself out to any merchant who was willing to make

¹ The outward cargo included hatchets, combs, and 'sarpes', 'manelios' of copper and lead, woollen cloth and night caps. All these articles figured in normal cargoes sent from the ports of England to the Guinea coast during the sixteenth century. Thus, Hakluyt (*Principal navigations*, VI, 252) gives a list of 'the commodities and wares . . . most desired in Guinie', which includes brass and lead 'manils', kerseys, great knives, hats and axe-heads. The French merchants who engaged in the Guinea trade habitually exported similar cargoes. John Commensal, for example, who went in *Le Petit Margo* on a voyage from Dieppe to Guinea, setting sail in September 1576, took with him a cargo of 'certen mainoles or braceletts, wedges, hatchets, hand bills callid sarpez, frizes, and other small haberdasher wares'. This cargo list is particularly valuable, because for once the meaning of the terms 'manelio' and 'sarpes' is explained. Commensal reached the Guinea coast and bartered away his goods, and in due course his ship turned homeward with a cargo of 'Gynneye graines and certen elephants' teethe, (PRO, HCA 13/23. 26 Feb. 1577/8. Deposition of William Adams, merchant of Dieppe). There is a striking similarity between the voyage of the *Paul* in 1540 and that of the *Petit Margo*, at least in respect of their cargoes. The *Paul* brought in to Plymouth twelve elephants' teeth, that is, twelve tusks. A comparison of the outward and inward cargoes will leave the reader in no doubt that the crew of the *Paul* engaged in barter with the negroes of Guinea.

² In 1539, for example, an Anglo-French syndicate financed the voyage of the *Saviour* and the *Wolfe* from Dieppe to 'the Ile of Brasile'. The ships took out a cargo of swords, daggers, axes, knives, combs, glasses, fish-hooks, shirts, caps and pieces of iron, in order to exchange these articles for brazil wood; and on their return they put into Rye in Sussex. Moreover, in 1540, the *Barbara* sailed from Portsmouth to Brazil, and Captain John Philips employed a French pilot to assist him in navigation (PRO, HCA 13/4. 27 Nov. 1541; HCA 1/33. 10, 13 Nov., 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13 Dec. 1540).

use of his particular knowledge. The high court of admiralty records contain a deposition by a John Landey, a mariner of Plymouth, who was captain of the *Mary Winter* and engaged in privateering in 1549, and a reference to another John Landy, of Westchester, who was master of the *George* in a voyage from England to the Azores in 1555 (docs. 112, 113)¹. To identify these men as one and the same would be to read more into the records than is warranted by their content, but the possibility exists. It is, indeed, more than a mere possibility that the Captain Landey, living in Plymouth in 1549, was the man who, nine years before, had conducted the *Paul* from that port to Brazil. It would be of interest, did we know whether, after the return of the *Paul* in October 1540, master John Landye really did there and then sever his connection with his employer, or whether he took part in any other tropical expeditions. Pending further discoveries, we must assume that direct African trade was again abandoned.

It was renewed in the reign of King Edward VI and was continuous from 1551. The events surrounding this revival are obscure. English traders in the Azores and the Canaries may well have made unrecorded contacts with the Moors of Barbary². In 1546, moreover, a Flemish hulk, laden with sugar and probably on its way to Antwerp from the island of São Thomé, was made prize by a certain Captain Richard Gray 'upon the coste of Barbarie' (doc. 114); and this incident may be taken as indicative of the gradual extension of the field of English privateering from European waters to the Atlantic coast of Africa. A few years afterwards, furthermore, a group of influential English merchants, then trading regularly with Barbary, claimed that they had been engaged in this business at least since 1548 or 1549 (doc. 115). But all this is unsubstantiated, and we do not tread firm ground until the year 1551, when Captain Thomas Windham³, a Norfolk gentleman, a privateer, and an experienced seaman, set sail from Portsmouth on a

¹ I have spelt the name deliberately as it appears in the records in each case.

² Williamson, p. 36.

³ The spelling of Windham's name varies greatly in contemporary records. He signed himself 'Wyndam' (doc. 128).

voyage to Barbary. Hakluyt's brief record of this expedition mainly takes the form of a letter, written long afterwards by one, James Alday, to Michael Lok (doc. 117). Alday was a scoundrel and a pirate in an age when pirates flourished. His claim, then, to have been 'the sole inventor of that trade' into the kingdom of Morocco in Barbary must be accepted with caution. His letter gives few details about the voyage. It records merely that he was to have been commander of a ship equipped at Portsmouth for Sir John Lutterell, John Fletcher, Henry Ostrich and others, but that, falling a victim of the sweating sickness, he was unable to sail. Thomas Windham therefore sailed as captain in his place. He also discloses that two Moors of noble blood were taken back to their own country. Hakluyt supplies one further particular about the voyage in his title to Alday's letter. He records that the name of the ship was the *Lion* and it was of London. From other evidence we learn that two ships actually sailed. They left England late in August 1551 (doc. 116). An incidental reference in James Thomas's relation of the second voyage to Barbary shows that, on the first voyage, Windham put into Santa Cruz [Agadir at Cape Ghir] to do business with the Moors, and that the Portuguese grew very angry when they heard of the expedition (doc. 119). They threatened to treat all found in the parts of Barbary as mortal enemies.

The Barbary trade was soon firmly established. The first voyage must have been a financial success, or it would hardly have been repeated, as in fact it was on a larger scale in the following year. Windham sailed away to Barbary a second time in May 1552, and upon this occasion we can picture the ships on their way from the narrative of James Thomas. Within a fortnight of leaving Bristol, Windham sighted the coast of Barbary and put into Safi, where part of the cargo was unloaded to be conveyed overland to Marrakesh. Then he passed on to Santa Cruz, where he spent some three months, exchanging his linen, woollen cloth, coral and amber for the sugar, molasses, dates and almonds of the Moors. At length, with a loaded ship, he was able to put to sea again and make his way home. After various adventures, his men dropped anchor in the Thames at the end of October 1552.

Hakluyt's record of the early Barbary voyages stops at this point, and he turns his attention instead to the more spectacular Guinea voyages which were initiated in 1553. His contemporaries were probably so familiar with the Barbary trade, which was flourishing at the time when he was laboriously compiling the materials for his great work, that he did not deem it worth while to record more details. The trade was certainly vigorous under Queen Elizabeth. But Hakluyt's omission might easily have given rise to the impression that no other voyages were attempted between 1553 and 1560. Chance discoveries in the Public Record Office have shown this to be wrong, and the more important of the new documents have been printed in this volume. The general inference to be drawn from them is that the trade was carried on actively throughout the period left blank in the *Principal navigations*, although evidence exists of only two specific voyages.

The principal facts which have come to light are: (1) that in the spring of 1555 the *Grace of God* sailed to Safi and Cape Ghir; (2) that during the winter of 1555-6 the Barbary trade was carried on from Spain through the agency of factors resident in North Africa; (3) that in 1558 English agents, resident in Morocco, were engaged in the purchase of gum for their London masters and employers; and (4) that in the following year at least two ships, the *John Evangelist* and the *Mary Martin*, sailed from England to arrive in Barbary in May, returning home the following autumn. Proof of all this has survived, because of law suits prosecuted by the parties concerned in the high court of admiralty. The proceedings in these causes were recorded in the normal way by the clerk of the admiralty court. If they had not been instituted, it is doubtful whether any evidence would have been forthcoming. We may accordingly presume that only those tumultuous voyages which led to quarrels have left their mark in the records, and that evidence of the less eventful voyages is not likely to be traced. So the records of the Barbary trade during the period from 1553 to 1560 are still fragmentary, and the list of voyages still far from complete. The real importance of the new documents, however, is that they afford evidence of the men who took part in the voyages, the methods and difficulties

of these men, and the general situation in Barbary. It is fortunate that the documents are not all of one type. There is a draft charter-party, a crude bill of lading made in Barbary, and a series of depositions by merchants and factors, some of whom engaged personally in barter on the coast, stayed for long periods in the Barbary country, and even travelled into the interior of the Maghreb. These men were thus in a position to know a great deal about conditions in Barbary. We may count it a rare privilege to be able to read their fascinating testimonies, as Richard Hakluyt once listened to the strange stories which travel-stained mariners had to tell him.

It is possible to reconstruct the voyage of the *Grace of God* to Barbary in 1555 with tolerable accuracy. This ship had been bought in the autumn of 1553 by a prosperous London fishmonger, John Hopkins, who had had her 'new buildid and erectid' (doc. 136). In March 1555, he hired her out to a group of London merchants, who were interested in the Barbary trade. It was agreed that she should sail direct from London to Safi, where she would remain for sixteen days engaged in trade. From Safi she was to sail on to Cape Ghir, and she was to remain at anchor in the port there for forty days, while the merchants and their factors completed their exchanges¹. The return voyage was then to be made direct to Dover and so to London (doc. 134). In due course, John Sandye of Harwich, appointed master of the ship, with a crew of 32 mariners and 2 boys, weighed anchor and set a course for Barbary. Then, we lose sight of them, until they are already at Cape Ghir. In May 1555, the *Grace of God* was moored in the port there, while the mariners,

¹ The reason why this particular route was laid down for the *Grace of God* will become clear, if we quote from a record of 1574, entitled 'Partes in Barbary whiche the Q. subjects use to traffick' (PRO, SP 12/95, no. 90). It runs as follows:

'... To the port of Allarache [Laraiche] and other portes within the Streates, which serve for the trade of Fesse for sail of clothes. To the porte of Saphia and so to Morocus for the sailles of our clothes, and from thence to the cowntry of Sows [Sus]. To the porte of Capo de Gerre [i.e. Santa Cruz, at Cape Ghir] to relade our shippes for to retorne for England.'

The merchants trafficking to Barbary in the reign of Queen Mary seem to have concentrated on the trade of the southern provinces, particularly that of Sus, and that of Marrakesh city.

boys and factors, assisted by native stevedores, went busily to and fro from the ship to the foreshore, loading into her hold casks of dates and sugar—hogsheads and puncheons, they called them, and each was approximately equivalent in burthen to a quarter of a ton. On May 26, John Taylor, the purser, certified a bill of lading to the effect that William Browning, who was factor for the London merchant John Gardener, had safely sent on board 14 puncheons and 27 hogsheads of dates to be shipped back to London (doc. 135). When the cargo was all embarked, the ship set sail for home, and eventually, before the autumn was out, 'endid her voyage prosperouslye here at London' (doc. 136). But this was not the end. The merchant, John Gardener, seems to have indulged in a little sharp practice. At the outset, he had agreed, somewhat reluctantly, to embark a cargo in Barbary of not more than 10 tons, and to pay the proper freight charges on it. Instead, however, of conforming to this arrangement, which was set out in the charter-party, he evidently instructed his factor to load a larger cargo secretly, and when the *Grace of God* came back to port, his deception having been discovered, he would not pay the additional freight charge. John Hopkins, the injured party, therefore, took the matter to law, and accused Gardener of having tried to avoid paying the proper charges by registering part of his cargo under the name of a fellow associate in the Barbary company, one Edmund Jackman. The result of the suit is not known. But it had the fortunate result that evidence of the voyage has survived¹.

The list of merchants, named in the charter-party, who shared in this Barbary voyage, is of more than passing interest. It included some well-known figures: Sir Thomas White, Sir John York, Thomas Lodge, Alexander Coles, Arthur Dawbeney and Richard Lambert. These men were all members of that pioneer group of London financiers who took a leading part in promoting oversea voyages during their generation². Thus, for

¹ Some additional evidence about the dispute may be found in PRO, HCA 13/10. 22 Nov. 1555. Deposition of John Gardener.

² 'The first searche of that trade into Barbarrye from this realme,' declared the Barbary merchants in April 1567, 'was attemptid and within few yeeres broughte to good effect by . . . certayne expert and skilfull marchaunts of London' (PRO, SP 12/42, no. 49).

example, White and York were members of the Muscovy company, York, Lodge and Lambert adventured in the Guinea trade, and for many years White, Coles and Dawbeney were prominently connected with the Barbary trade. Many of them, or of their families and intimates, had engaged in the first place in Anglo-Iberian trade, whence they had developed a keen appetite for more adventurous expeditions. Through their agents in Iberia, they received news of the exploitation by wealthy and enterprising Portuguese and Spanish merchants of the new lands beyond the seas, which the latter had discovered, and it was this which induced them to take a hand themselves. Barbary was not a long shot from the ports of Andalusia, where English merchants had kept agents for a long time. The Guinea coast lay beyond Barbary, and it was not long before the same group of merchants was also trafficking to Guinea.

It was very natural that English merchants should seek to extend the scope of their business across the narrow waters which separated Spain and Portugal from Northern Africa. There is reason, indeed, for believing that some adventurous spirits had entertained this idea as far back as the reign of Edward IV¹. The idea became a fact in the reign of Queen Mary. Evidence of English overland traffic to Barbary from Spanish ports may be drawn from the deposition of Edmund Maustedge about the voyage of the *Gallion* to Cadiz in 1555-6 (doc. 137). This ship transported a cargo of kerseys to Spain, one pack whereof was to be sent over to 'one Hawker, wiche was then in Barberye' occupied in business for his brother at home in England². Nor did this development stop here. The overland traffic to Barbary undoubtedly influenced the course and character of the direct sea trade. There is evidence to show, for example, that English agents, resident in Morocco, and work-

¹ D. B. Quinn, 'Edward IV and exploration' (*Mariner's Mirror*; 1935; vol. XXI, pp. 275-84).

² Dr. Williamson (*Sir John Hawkins*, p. 36) writes that 'there are indications in the admiralty records that Englishmen residing at Seville and Cadiz traded with Barbary before 1551'. I have carefully examined all the available records, and particularly the specific reference mentioned by him (PRO, HCA 13/13. 30 Jan. 1560/1), but I have not been able to confirm his statement.

ing for merchants who normally despatched their ships direct from England to the Barbary ports, sometimes returned home via Spain. Thus, one John Chambers, by his own testimony 'a traveler and merchant into the said parties of Barbarye' having some understanding of Arabic, made more than one journey to that country, and returned home, after one visit, by crossing to Andalusia and taking ship from there to England. He left Morocco in October 1558, probably choosing to cross to Spain to make his way back, because no English ship happened to be anchored in the ports of Barbary ready to sail straight to England. While Chambers was still in Barbary, he met a certain Philip Westcott, and the meeting seems to have taken place in the port of Santa Cruz (doc. 150). By which route did he afterwards travel from Santa Cruz to Spain? Did he go all the way by sea, or did he travel overland through the Maghreb and cross to Spain from Arzila or Oran? If, as is probable, he chose to travel overland, he must have made his way along the caravan route, which ran inland to Taroudant and so to Marrakesh, from there northwards to Fez, and so down to the coast at either Arzila or Oran. If he did cross the Maghreb, then he was one of the first Englishmen to do this. His journey was significant of the growing interest which the English were displaying in the little known interior of Morocco.

John Chambers told his all-too-brief story to the judge of the high court of admiralty in November 1559, shortly after his return from another visit to Barbary. His deposition is the first of a series which has been preserved in volume 12 of the admiralty examinations in the Public Record Office (docs. 150-5). They all resulted from a quarrel which broke out between merchants engaged in the trade. They are invaluable, because they disclose some very interesting facts about the obscure character of the Barbary trade.

It becomes apparent that the English trade with the Moors of that country was well organised. The trade was not promoted by a single joint-stock company of merchants possessing monopoly rights by virtue of a charter from the crown. Anyone who wished could share in it. Merchants trafficked on their own or grouped themselves in temporary partnerships for particular

voyages. The charter-party for the voyage of the *Grace of God* in 1555, which has been described above, shows how, when an expedition to Barbary was planned, a number of merchants would approach a shipowner with a view to hiring a suitable vessel. Then each merchant, or each partnership of merchants, would agree to embark a cargo of a specified tonnage and to pay freight, pilotage and other charges, for that cargo to the shipowner. Thus, Sir Thomas White, acting on his own, agreed to 'charge and lade in and upon the sayd shipp [the *Grace of God*] . . . vj tonnes', and Arthur Dawbeney, also acting for himself, 12 tons, while a partnership of two merchants, Thomas Bond and Alexander Coles, contracted to embark a cargo of 20 tons. There was no joint stock for all the merchants, trading as one company, though there might be, and were, subsidiary groups of merchants who worked as partners; and there was no company capital. When the voyage was over, the merchants, or partners, separated and went their ways to dispose privately of the goods brought home for them in the ship. When the next Barbary voyage was prepared, each merchant or partnership was free to decide for or against taking any part in it. Such was the way in which the initial voyages to Barbary were organised. It may be supposed that the Windham voyages of 1551 and 1552 were run on similar lines.

The depositions of witnesses relating to the trade in 1558 and 1559 show that by and large the same principles of organisation were still being observed at the end of the reign of Queen Mary. Merchants still preserved their freedom to decide whether they would venture in a given voyage. The system by which a merchant acted for himself and embarked an agreed cargo still operated. Nevertheless, minor changes were creeping in. Improvements were being introduced. Men had come to have more confidence in the trade as a dependable source of profit. It had grown steadily since 1551, in spite of Portuguese opposition; it was now flourishing, and new men were being attracted into it. New names appear in the records, names such as Charles Hoskins, John Sleade, Reginald Hollingworthe, and George Smith, all evidently prominent London traders and all employing factors and agents in Morocco. Furthermore, the partner-

ship idea was becoming more popular. Hoskins and Sleade had entered into partnership and were working together in the trade. They must have kept a joint account, for they employed only one agent, a certain Nicholas Lawrence, to do business for them both in Barbary. By this time, moreover, neither White nor Dawbeney was any longer trading on his own. They, too, had entered into partnership. As John Sleade alleged in the Admiralty Court on 6 November 1559, 'in certen and some affares and occupienges in the trade of merchaundizes the said Sir Thomas White and Arthure Dawbeney have ben partners and occupiers togethurs in the parties of Barbarye', and they employed a single factor to buy and sell for them, the widely travelled Philip Westcott. They, too, must have kept a common account, and they must even have accumulated capital which was not invariably shared out at the end of a voyage, because Westcott was retained in their employment buying gum in Morocco for well over twelve months and probably for a much longer period.

In the autumn of 1559, the Sleade-Hoskins partnership fell into dispute with White and Dawbeney over the behaviour of the latter's factor in Barbary. Philip Westcott was still in Barbary when the dispute was tried at law and was not able to defend himself, but the depositions were submitted by both sides before the judge of the Admiralty Court; they show that far from co-operating, the subsidiary partnerships, which contracted to have so much space or tonnage in a ship on the Barbary voyage, sometimes competed. There was evidently competition between the different English agents in Morocco to secure the favour of the Jewish merchants who acted as intermediaries between the Moors and the Europeans, and to win the sympathy of the ruling Moors themselves. In the resulting game of bribery and chicanery, a successful factor might expect to get a larger share of the available products of the country. It appears that Westcott played this game skilfully. Long residence in the country gave him advantages over his rivals which they resented. Gum was a monopoly of the King of Morocco. It was 'king's merchandize'. No-one was allowed to buy or sell it except by royal licence. But the reigning king had found it

profitable to farm the privilege to the alcaide of Taroudant, who in turn seems to have arranged to sell all gum to a wealthy Jew of the Maghreb. This Jew therefore controlled the sale of gum to European traders¹. During the summer of 1558, Westcott appears to have travelled upcountry from the port of Santa Cruz to the market town of Taroudant, where by some means he secured a quantity of gum from the resident alcaide. In due course, this gum was brought down to the *plaga* or seashore, where in June 1559 it was put on board the *John Evangelist*, an English ship moored there, and consigned to Westcott's masters White and Dawbeney. But Sleade and Hoskins accused Westcott of having secretly obtained this gum 'by unfeull meanes, and contrarye to the lawes, ordinaunces and rewles of the kinge of Barbarye', pointing out that when the authorities in the country heard of what had happened, they seized the troublesome gum and had it taken back to the shore, forbade the English to transact any more business until the question in dispute was settled, and even imprisoned the purser and two mariners for fifty days, because the latter had at first refused to surrender up the gum. Lawrence afterwards bought the gum from the 'king's merchant' in the proper way, and sent it aboard again, consigned this time to the aggrieved merchants, Sleade and Hoskins. White and Dawbeney, however, were not to be outdone. When the *John Evangelist*, after her return from Barbary, was anchored in the Thames, Admiralty officers, acting on their instructions, boarded her and took possession of the gum. So the dispute came up for settlement in the high court.

The evidence submitted to the judge by the parties concerned shows that by 1559 the trade was firmly established. A Barbary voyage was no longer a hazardous venture, as in the time of Windham's first pioneer expedition. Englishmen now knew the ropes. They were fairly sure of a welcome, when they put into

¹ The Jews who controlled the Barbary trade did not scruple to take advantage of their privileged position to force the English to pay higher prices for the commodities of the country. This was a subject of complaint among the merchants trafficking to Barbary in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. 'Two onely Jewes have all the said comodities of that countrey in ferme of the king', they complained in April 1567, who 'do offer verry smale prices for our comodities' (PRO, SP 12/42, no. 49).

the port of Safi, which was the place they generally called at first. Difficulties still existed. Portuguese agents in Morocco, in the employ of rich Antwerp merchants, probably resented the intrusion of Englishmen as much as they had objected a few years before to the arrival of French traders¹; and it is not improbable that these agents sometimes tried to turn the local native alcaide against the English. But Portuguese garrisons had been withdrawn from Safi and Santa Cruz in 1541, and so their protests could no longer be made effective. They failed to stop the English in their new enterprises. Nor could the French, though we may suppose that the latter did not welcome the English with open arms. It was touch and go with Windham, when his ships had entered the bay of Santa Cruz in 1552. There had been a French ship anchored in the road, and the French captain had called for help from the local alcaide, Sibill Manache, to resist the English. A fight had only been avoided upon that occasion, because Windham had been able to show the Moors that he 'came with the good leave of their king' on a peaceful trading voyage (doc. 119). The chief difficulties confronting the English were now of their own making. They quarrelled among themselves. As we have seen, their agents competed with one another for the favour of the Moors and offered higher prices to the Jewish intermediaries for their goods in the hope of outdoing their rivals. The Jews took advantage of this, and English profits began to fall. All this resulted in some measure from the irregular and unofficial character of the trade. Anyone could engage in it, provided he could find initial capital. But as profits declined, the original promoters began to despair for the future of the trade and to look back with envy to the initial years. They lamented the changes which had come about, and begged the crown to intervene to check price competition. But their grievances were not remedied until long afterwards. Meanwhile, the Barbary trade continued to grow

¹ Evidence of French trade with Barbary may be found in H. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, ser. I (France) (1905), pp. 1-205. The reader will find a lot of information about Portuguese agents in Barbary and their relations with their Antwerp masters in PRO, HCA 13/16. 4 Nov. 1566, 9, 10 March 1568/9; HCA 13/17. 21, 23 May, 4, 7, 9, 15 June 1569.

more important, built, as it was, upon solid foundations during the period ending in 1560.

By the end of the reign of Queen Mary, however, the interest of the London group of promoters had come to be divided between Barbary and Guinea. The Guinea trade had developed out of the Barbary trade. It is not certain when the first voyage to Guinea was attempted. According to William Camden, such a voyage in search of gold was made in 1552 (doc. 120); while report had it that a certain Simão Pires, a pilot in the service of Portugal on the navigation between West Africa and Lisbon, sailed from Mina with a cargo of gold and malagueta to arrive in England before the end of August 1552 (docs. 121, 122). What is certain is that after Windham's second voyage to Barbary, a more ambitious expedition was planned, with the help of two Portuguese pilots, Antonio Anes Pinteado and Francisco Rodrigues. These men had come disgruntled to England and had offered to place their experience and knowledge of navigation to Guinea at the disposal of the English. Thomas Windham, who had been asked by the promoters of the intended voyage to take command, accordingly engaged them. Pinteado was to be his assistant, and Rodrigues was to hold the office of a pilot. Preparations were then pushed forward. The chief promoters were Sir George Barnes, the lord mayor of London, whose interest in Guinea probably dated back to the time when his family first engaged in Anglo-Spanish trade, Sir John York, Sir William Garrard and Francis Lambert. Three ships were got ready, the *Primrose*, the *Lion* and the *Moon*. They were not hired this time. The merchants who intended to engage in the trade were themselves shipowners, and the financial arrangements necessary for paying the wages of the seamen resulted in the accumulation of company stock (docs. 125, 132). A French surgeon was summoned from Rouen to go with the fleet, probably because he had had previous experience of sickness on the Guinea coast¹. Windham was instructed 'in the names of the said fellowship' to provide victuals and other necessaries for the expedition, and to press mariners into service. He himself pressed into service

¹ E. Gosselin, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la marine normande* (1876), pp. 146-7.

the key men, such as William Brown, who went as quartermaster on the *Primrose*, while the services of the ordinary mariners and the boys were evidently secured in the same way by the quartermasters. This Brown, for example, 'by commission from the said Mr. Wyndam hirid and prest' a number of mariners, including one Bartholomew Stockfish, to serve in the *Primrose* (docs. 123, 124)¹. Records were kept of the impressment of mariners, so that wages might be paid fairly. The normal wage paid to a master mariner, engaged for a voyage to Guinea, seems to have been at the rate of twenty shillings per month. So preparations went forward.

But before the ships could get under way, Windham had trouble with the Portuguese. King John III was naturally zealous to guard his imperial monopoly against interlopers, and when he heard that a Guinea voyage was being planned in London and Portsmouth, he took steps to try to stop it. The treacherous activities of Pinteado and Rodrigues filled him with special anger. If he could not persuade the English government to ban the voyage, at least he might do something to prevent it from succeeding by denying its promoters the advantage of expert pilotage. So he did all in his power to inveigle the two renegades to return to Portugal. In December 1552, Pinteado was informed by letter from Prince Dom Luis that the king had granted him a safe-conduct to return home, where he might be more usefully employed. Pero Gonçaves was at the same time despatched to London to bring Pinteado home (doc. 126). But the latter evidently had good cause for suspecting that his enemies were trying to trick him into going home to his death. He refused. When Gonçaves reached London, it seems that he could get no satisfaction from the English government, and this caused him, as Windham alleged, to speak 'slanderous words

¹ English seamen generally do not appear to have come forward very willingly to serve in the voyages of discovery which were planned during the reign of Queen Mary. The promoters could not depend upon volunteers only. They were forced to press mariners into service. This method had to be followed, when the voyage of Willoughby and Chancellor was prepared to search for a north-east passage. An order exists 'for the impressing of all men necessary for the voyage of discovery to be undertaken by Sir Hugh Willoughby'. 17 May 1553 (PRO, HCA 14/5, no. 157).

agaynst the lordes of the kinges majesties pryvie counsell'. So he resorted to a more direct method. Working jointly with another Portuguese agent in London, Estevão da Mota, he first secured the person of Rodrigues and then that of Pinteado, intending evidently to ship them forcibly back to Lisbon. This second plan, however, also miscarried. Windham, in a great rage, engineered the intervention of the High Court of Admiralty. The two agents were clapped into prison, and, on 3 March 1553, Windham lodged a formal complaint that he had been licenced by King Edward VI to command an intended voyage, and that his plans had been upset by the 'abhomyneable sklander and untrouth' of Gonçalves and da Mota (doc. 128). The renegades, whose services Windham was so anxious not to lose, were presumably in the meantime released from the clutches of Portugal and enabled once again to continue the preparations for the voyage. Gonçalves and da Mota were not kept long in prison. Probably, the government did not wish to disturb the good relations existing between themselves and Portugal, and these two men, after all, were the accredited agents of King John III. The Lord High Admiral had ordered their arrest on the last day of February. Now, on March 12 they were bound over by Judge Leyson of the Admiralty Court in the sum of £500, and on the following day they were released. So the affair blew over. But Windham had got his way. King John III had failed. The principle of monopoly had been defeated. Pinteado and Rodrigues were free to serve the English and to show them the way to Mina and Benin.

By the late middle summer, the preparations were completed, and Windham set sail on August 12. First he set a course for Madeira, where, according to Eden, he took in wines and then passed on. But the visit to Madeira was a stormy affair. A Portuguese account of what happened has survived in the form of a letter, dated 22 September 1553, and addressed to King John III from the captain of the island, Simão Gonçalves (doc. 130). According to his report, Windham's fleet anchored in the road of Machico on September 3, and two days later, with his permission, came on to the port of Funchal, 'pretending that they wanted to buy wines'. Gonçalves, suspecting that Windham was

on his way to Cape Ghir or the coast of Guinea, sought to detain him by an offer of hospitality, and at the same time asked him to hand over the persons of Pinteado and Rodrigues. This request was not answered, and, a week later, the English stood to sea again, plundering two ships which were coming from the other islands, Rodrigues apparently having a hand in this filibustering. Then, they carried out a raid on the island of Deserta to the southward. Fifty or sixty of them, guided by Rodrigues, who was a native of the Azores, landed from boats. But some of the inhabitants, under the leadership of Luis d'Ataide, warned of the approach of the English, prepared an ambush. They caught their enemies in a defile and released boulders down upon them. The English were forced to beat a hasty retreat and to take to the boats, and seven or eight of them were wounded, among them, it was reported, the Portuguese renegade. So the English departed, to the relief and gladness of the islanders. Gonçalves ends his short narrative with a request for more arms and equipment, and a few small ships, to defend the islands, and to turn back the English from the route to Guinea 'which for the first time they desire to take' (doc. 130). The captain's record of the visit of the English to Madeira and their raid on Deserta must be read with caution. Like so many contemporary reports from Portuguese colonial officials, it is obviously carefully worded to please and to flatter, and to reflect as much glory as the events permitted upon himself and his underlings. Thus, he exaggerated the strength of the English armada. He reported three ships, one a galleon of 400 tons, another of 200 tons, and a third, smaller, but with four large cannon; and he affirmed that they carried at least three hundred well-armed men. Eden, on the contrary, says that there were only seven score, and his informant did not seek to minimise the number, for he was concerned to show how few returned of these one hundred and forty men. This, however, is clear from the Portuguese account. Windham's visit to the islands was not uneventful. Gonçalves strongly resented the presence of the Portuguese pilots in the English company, and only gave way to superior force when he let them have wines. The English obtained additional supplies by plundering shipping in the neighbourhood,

and their visit ended in a raid on Deserta, which was repulsed with bloodshed.

From Deserta, the English sailed on towards Guinea, passing the Canaries, and replenishing their stocks of food with wild goats' flesh obtained from the island of São Nicolão, one of the Cape Verde group. So they came to the Sestos river. Pinteado here apparently urged them to be satisfied with a cargo of malagueta pepper and to return to England, before the season was too far advanced. But Windham would brook no interference with his own plan, which was to get gold on the Mina coast. So they went on again, and, as they sailed, they plundered. Windham had been bred a privateer, and he does not seem to have been able to resist the temptation to plunder whenever it came his way. At a place called Lagoa on the Malagueta coast, they sighted a Portuguese ship making its way from Oporto to the island of São Thomé, and they plundered it (doc. 131). Sailing forward again, they eventually reached 'the golden land' of Mina, where they bartered away their own goods for the gold dust of the negro merchants, obtaining 150 lbs. of the metal. They trafficked east and west of the castle of São Jorge, discreetly avoiding the danger of approaching too near to the most strongly fortified station the Portuguese had on all the coast. The season was now advanced, for the company had wasted much time in raiding and plundering shipping on the outward voyage. So Pinteado now urgently counselled them to complete their sales on the Mina coast and then to turn about and sail homeward. But he was again overruled. The masterful Windham, abusing the Portuguese navigator, insisted that they should go forward still, and commanded poor Pinteado 'to lead the ships to Benin'. So on they sailed for another 150 leagues. They reached the Benin river safely, where they dropped anchor. Then the pinnace was sent 'up into the river 50 or 60 leagues' (probably to Gwato, situated on the left bank of the river, though Eden's estimate of the distance appears to be somewhat exaggerated); and, from here, Pinteado, Rodrigues, and some of the English merchants made their way overland to the court of the native king, which was 'ten leagues from the river side', that is, probably in the city of Benin.

Eden's description of the court and city of Benin is extremely interesting in the sense that it is one of the earliest surviving accounts, and that it is more detailed than that in Duarte Pacheco Pereira's *Esmeraldo*. The English merchants were received with proper gravity by the king. Pinteado acted as their spokesman, for the monarch could speak Portuguese. The king first asked the English why they had come to his country. They answered that they came as merchants to exchange their goods for his. This palaver continued, no doubt with an exchange of appropriate gifts, until the merchants had been granted the king's licence to pursue trade in his kingdom, and a safe-conduct to travel from one place to another in his country (doc. 140). Then the barter began. The king offered to provide the English with enough pepper within one month to load up their ships. Word was sent round the country to bring in pepper, and within the agreed time 80 tons had been collected. But then the trouble, which Pinteado had long foreseen, broke upon the whites. The sun was now directly overhead at midday, and the heat was intolerable. Many of the men, oppressed and overcome by a climate totally unlike any they had ever before experienced, began to eat and drink without rule or moderation, and to succumb to fever and to die in ever increasing numbers. Windham was among the first victims, and Pinteado, summoned back from the court, was made the scape-goat. By this time, one thought was uppermost in the minds of all the survivors, some of whom were themselves labouring in fever. All desired to return home. But the company was so small that it was impossible to sail all the ships. So the surviving members of the crew of the *Lion* 'wer taken furthe of the same and placid to bringe home the Primerose and the Moone'. The *Lion* was abandoned (doc. 132). Nicholas Lambert and others, who were still in Benin city, were left to their fate. They were never heard of again. Then, the sad and stricken company hoisted sail. Within a week, Pinteado himself died. Scarcely any record survives of the harrowing scenes on the homeward voyage, which must have burned themselves into the memories of the fortunate forty who eventually got home. 'After ther cumminge from Binney towardes England, manye of the mariners departid and

died' was the plain, unvarnished comment of one of the survivors, Henry Bold (doc. 132). Poor William Brown, taken sick at Benin, lived on till he was almost within sight of England's shores, and then he, too, died. In June 1554, the *Primrose* and the *Moon* hauled into Plymouth¹. The promoters reaped a rich reward, 150 pounds' weight of gold.

In the following autumn, Barnes and York, in company this time with Anthony Hickman and Edward Castlyn, two merchants whose families had traded together to Spain and the Canaries for a generation, organised a second expedition to Guinea. Three ships and two pinnaces were equipped, and the command was given to John Lok, a member of another family interested in overseas trade. Steps were taken to avoid the mistakes of Windham in the previous voyage. The merchants wisely decided to forego the chance of bringing back a cargo of the red pepper of Benin, and to concentrate on the more profitable and less dangerous gold trade of Mina. Their ships would not have to be kept at sea for so long, and the crews would not have to endure the tempestuous climate of fever-ridden Benin. The fleet sailed out of the Thames in October 1554, made its way down the Channel, and, getting clear of Start Point, bore down

¹ The records do not disclose exactly when the ships reached England. But it must have been about the middle of June. When midsummer came, the disgruntled survivors made their way to London to the residence of Sir George Barnes to receive their hard-earned wages. They went home with a new grievance. Though they claimed for sixteen months, the company would only pay them for twelve and a half months' service. Peter Patterell, who claimed to be the legatee of the deceased William Brown, received nothing, and shortly afterwards brought an action against the members of the 'company and fellowship' which promoted the voyage. The resulting trial and examination of evidence dragged on for many months. The witnesses were examined in the High Court of Admiralty by Judge Cooke. The evidence submitted on Patterell's behalf seems to show that the common mariners, who had returned from Benin, were very embittered against the financiers who had organised the expedition. They probably believed that they had been pressed into service as pawns in a huge gamble calculated to bring profits to the promoters. They must have been consumed with rage to find that Barnes and his associates were seeking to deprive the rightful legatee of the wages of one of their late comrades. The full story may be reconstructed from the following records: PRO, HCA 13/9. 6, 8, 12 Feb. 1554/5; HCA 24/24, nos. 66, 80, 86, 143; HCA 38/4. 28 Aug. 1554 (2 warrants), 23 Nov. 1554. Only records, or extracts, having a direct bearing upon the voyage (and not the story of the dispute) have been printed in this collection.

to the south-westward to reach Madeira. Avoiding Windham's criminal delay at the island, Lok sped swiftly on, passing the Canaries, and, tacking against the prevailing trade winds, fetched the Barbary coast late in November. Then, following the line of the coast, he sailed on to Guinea. He remained a week off the river Sestos to allow the merchants to buy malagueta pepper, and then went on to reach the Mina coast early in January 1555.

Trade now began in earnest. The English carefully followed the principle, observed by Windham, of trafficking between, and not within range of the guns of, the Portuguese forts. They passed safely by Axim fort, and rounded Cape Three Points, to begin trade along the coast of Ahanta. One of their ships remained anchored for four days off Samma, while some of the men took the pinnace and went a little way further along the coast to traffic at Sammaterra, another small Ahanta village. They found the negroes to be:

. . . very wary people in their bargaining, and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They use weights and measures, and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall have to doe with them, must use them gently; for they will not trafique or bring in any wares, if they be evill used.

The English hoped to make a friend of the captain, or caboceiro, of Samma town, but the negotiations were apparently interrupted by the arrival of their Portuguese enemies. Lok had noticed a brigantine patrolling near the shore a few days before, and one may suppose that its captain, hearing of what was happening at Samma, landed reinforcements to strengthen the small garrison which his countrymen maintained in that town. The negroes at once turned upon the English. The chief handed over the person of Martin Frobisher, who had gone ashore as a pledge of good faith, to the Portuguese, and fire was opened on the English vessels. The latter withdrew. Lok put to sea again, and sailed to the eastward. Giving the castle of São Jorge de Mina a wide berth, he hauled inshore again near Queen Anne Point. He was more successful here. His ships had come to the country of the Fetu people, who bore little love towards the Portuguese. So trade now became very good. While the crew of the *Trinity*, one

of the ships, were bartering away their cloth at a place farther east, others trafficked with the subjects of Don John, one of the chiefs of the country. This Don John went out of his way to welcome them. His men, wrote Eden, 'entertained us friendly'. Frobisher, drawing upon personal experiences, described him as 'a capten called Don Joan, dwelling in Futta [Fetu] within iij myles of the Castell of Myne' (doc. 141). The English, indeed, had no cause to regret their exchanges with him, for the merchants who went to do business at his town bartered away all their packs of cloth for gold save three, and then moved on to a point farther along the coast. The Portuguese were very angry. They did not like to see the interlopers taking gold which they wanted for themselves. So when the English departed, they tried to bribe Don John to conclude a treaty with them and to promise not to do business with interlopers. But the Fetu prince haughtily declined their advances. As Frobisher put it:

... Don Joan, dwelling in Futta... was required and promised great rewardes and stipendes by the King of Portingall's agient to bicome under the obedience of the said king, and to ayde hym agenst other that would trate into those parties; who not onely refused to graunt any parte therof, but also made aunswer that he accomptid hymself to be his fellowe (doc. 141).

Meanwhile, the English had sailed eastward to the kingdom of Agonna, where they trafficked with the negroes at a place called Perecow, and at another place called Perecow Grand, which was probably Barracoe. Barter was evidently completed by the middle of February. The ships turned and began the homeward voyage, the crews being evidently anxious not to stay too long upon the coast and to avoid a repetition of the disaster which had befallen Windham and his men. As it was, they seem to have found it difficult to navigate their way past Cape Palmas, owing to the strong Guinea current flowing east, and when they reached Cape Verde, because the wind was constantly in the east, they had to sail far out to sea to make progress. Contrary currents and contrary winds, indeed, so hampered the return voyage that Eden, when he came to record the voyage, made a special point of noting these dangerous obstacles to navigation. But Lok came safely home. He had only lost twenty-four men,

and he had brought back a handsome cargo of pepper, ivory and 400 lbs. of gold.

The voyage to Mina was repeated by William Towerson during the winters of 1555-6 and 1556-7 and in the year 1558. As he kept a very detailed journal of his experiences, the reader may follow out the story of the three voyages for himself (docs. 142, 143, 145). It will suffice here to draw attention to a few special features of the Towerson expeditions and to such scanty new evidence about them as has been found.

Lok's triumphant return with a fortune in gold induced many other merchants in England to try their luck in the Guinea trade. So various plans and preparations were made for new Mina enterprises during the autumn of 1555. Towerson himself was appointed by the London merchants to command a new expedition. He sailed away in September, followed practically the same course as Lok, spent a full month from January 3 to February 4 on the Mina coast, trading with the negroes of Ahanta and Fetu, and brought his ships safely home to Bristol on 14 May 1556. The preparations of some of the other merchants during the autumn of 1555, however, were stopped by the intervention of the Portuguese ambassador, who asked Queen Mary to forbid her subjects from trafficking to Guinea (docs. 138, 139)¹. This invoked an angry protest from the Londoners. They claimed the freedom, enjoyed in common by all merchants, to trade to all parts of the world not under the subjection of any Christian prince. They argued that, in the previous voyage, their factors:

... landed not in anie place where the said king [of Portugal] had anie fortresse, towne, garrison or governaunce, or anie officer or other person that did forbid them (doc. 140).

Some ships, besides Towerson's, evidently did put to sea in spite of Portuguese action, for Towerson notes that, early in February, when his fleet was sailing homeward by the coast between Cape Three Points and Cape Palmas, he 'thought to have met with some English ships'. Their activities have gone unrecorded.

¹ The history of the negotiations between the English and the Portuguese governments may be read in J. A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins*, pp. 44-6.

Towerson's second voyage to Mina is notable for the alliance, which he concluded on his way to Guinea with a French fleet under a Captain Blundell. They agreed not to compete with each other in trade and to defend one another against their common enemy, the Portuguese. Their wisdom was later put to the proof, when they engaged in a running fight with a formidable armada from the castle of São Jorge. The journal of this voyage shows that, as in the winter of 1555-6, there were other Englishmen on the coast about whom nothing is known. It also gives evidence of the way in which the English were trying to consolidate their position on the coast, for Towerson records that one of the negro chiefs, the king of Abaan:

... willed our men at their comming home to speake to our king to send men and provisions into his countrey to build a castle.

The English, as far as is known, did not take advantage of the offer, but that it was made testifies not only to this prince's hostility towards the dominant Portuguese, but also to the success attained by the interlopers in making good friends among some of the negroes. Towerson adds that, on this voyage, trade was pursued at Mouri and Laguy. He stayed more than a month and a half on the Mina coast on this voyage. It was unwise, and his men, as a result, suffered, many dying on the homeward voyage. It was the end of May before they reached Plymouth.

Towerson's third voyage differed from his two previous ventures. The Spanish government had put heavy pressure upon Queen Mary to stop him sailing (doc. 144), and, as a result, the start was delayed. Whereas the usual season to begin such a voyage was autumn, and preferably the month of September, the ships under his command—the *Minion*, the *Christopher* and the *Tiger*—were not able upon this occasion to elude the vigilance of the port authorities in Plymouth until the end of January 1558. They captured two hulks in the Channel, shortly after putting to sea, and some of the men seem to have been of the opinion that, in view of the lateness of the season, they should be content with this plunder and return to England. But these murmurings were ignored, and the fleet sailed on. The commanding officers lived to regret their imprudent decision. The

crews began to fall sick long before the Mina coast was reached. Trade at Mina was not as profitable as usual, because Frenchmen had been trafficking on the coast for two months before their arrival. Towerson and his merchants were driven off the coast of the Ahanta country by a Portuguese armada, and so they were forced, early in April, to do most of their bartering along the shore east of São Jorge da Mina. They seem to have trafficked with the negroes of the kingdoms of Fetu, Saboe, Fanti, Akron, Agonna and Accra, putting into the ports of Don John's town, Mouri, Perinnen, Laguy, Winneba, Barracoe, and Egrand [Accra?]. They learned that one French fleet had already left for home with a cargo, as report went, of 700 lbs. of gold. A second French fleet was still trading along the coast when they arrived, and so in desperation they attacked it and robbed it of some 50 lbs. of gold. But they found the negroes to be unwilling as a rule to do much trade, and the officers, therefore, sounded the men as to whether they would be willing to sail on to Benin. They met with a flat refusal. Many of the men were sick and some of them already dead. So it was decided to do what they could on the Mina coast and then to turn homeward. They were not very successful. They even met with a hostile reception from the negroes of Fetu. The men were growing more and more mutinous. While off Cormantin, says Towerson, they had 'much ado with the froward mariners'. It became ever clearer, as the days passed, that the search for gold would have to be given up, no matter how unsatisfactory it had so far proved. Supplies were running low, a circumstance which influenced Towerson to abandon one of the pinnaces. Before bidding farewell to the Mina coast, however, they determined to make one final effort to persuade the negroes of Yabi and Ahanta to trade with them. But this also failed. The negroes of Ahanta 'dealt very ill with them'; and the news of an agreement between the chief of Samma and the Portuguese so exasperated the English that they burned his town; and the men:

... seeking the spoile of such trifles as were there, found a Portugal's chest, wherein was some of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter sent to him from the castle, whereby we gathered that the Portugall had bene there of a long time.

At the end of June, they turned homeward, only to meet with one disaster after another. They were unable to make headway against the strong Guinea current. So they tacked, and eventually found themselves approaching the island of São Thomé in the centre of the Gulf of Guinea. From there, they were able to make their way westward. In late August, they reached the Cape Verde islands. But their troubles were not over. The depleted crews were now in sore straits. They had only thirty sound men in their three ships, and this was not enough. So on September 8, Towerson had to abandon the *Tiger*. A few days later, the master of the *Christopher* signalled that he was in serious distress and suggested that they should make for the Spanish coast. Towerson in the *Minion* decided to go on. He shot off two cannon to warn the *Christopher* to follow as best she could, but on the night of October 10 lost sight of her. A heavy mist came up on the following morning, and she was nowhere to be found. She seems to have foundered off the French coast (docs. 146, 147). On October 20, the *Minion* struggled into the Isle of Wight. Towerson's return aroused deep anger among the Portuguese (docs. 148, 149), but they need not have taken it so much to heart. He was in no mood to repeat the enterprise. The English trade to Guinea was not resumed until 1561.

DOCUMENTS

105. PINA'S ACCOUNT OF THE PLAN OF JOHN TINTAM AND WILLIAM FABIAN TO SAIL TO MINA IN 1482¹.

In this year [1482], while the king [John II] was still in Montemoor, he ordered as ambassadors to King Duarte [Edward IV] of Ingraterra [England] Ruy de Sousa, doctor Joam d'Elvas, and, as secretary of the embassy, Fernão de Pina, who went by sea very honourably and with a great company. The point of the embassy was that they should go in the king's name to confirm the ancient leagues with Ingraterra, which by a condition of the leagues a new successor to the throne, on either side, was bound to do. Moreover, the ambassadors were to show the right and title, which the king enjoyed, to the lordship of Guinee, and to ensure that the King of Ingraterra, after having seen this title, would forbid and not allow any fleets to be assembled in his kingdom, and give neither favour nor consent to any persons to equip fleets against Guinee; and, further, that a fleet should be broken up, which one Joham Tintam, and another, Guilhelme Falibram, Englishmen, had at that time prepared by the favour and on the recommendation of the duke of Sevilha². The King of Ingraterra gave satisfaction to all these demands in the form and manner required by the ambassadors on the king's behalf, and they brought from him authentic writings touching the business, which by public proclamations had been done in that country; and they brought here the terms of the confirmation which was needed.

¹ Pina, *Chronica del Rey Dom João II*, ch. 7. Extract, translated.

² Don Enrique de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia. He was not Duke of Seville, strictly speaking, but his family exercised a sort of hereditary influence in that city. Pina's mistake is thus explicable.

106. HAKLUYT'S TRANSLATION OF RESENDE'S ACCOUNT OF THE PLAN OF TINTAM AND FABIAN¹.

The Ambassage which King John the second, King of Portugall, sent to Edward the fourth king of England, which in part was to stay one John Tintam, and one William Fabian, Englishmen, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for Guinea, 1481, taken out of the booke of the workes of Gracias de Resende, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don John the second, King of Portugall. Chap. 33.

AND afterwards the king sent as ambassadours from the towne of Monte major to King Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Sousa, a principall person, and a man of great wisdom and estimation, and in whom the king reposed great trust, with doctor John d'Elvas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as secretarie. And they made their voyage by sea very honourably, being very well accompanied. These men were sent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned that the new king of the one and of the other kingdome, should be bound to send to confirme the olde leagues. And likewise they had order to shew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held in the segneury of Ginnee, to the intent that after the King of England had seene the same, he should give charge thorow all his kingdomes, that no man should arme or set foorth ships to Ginnee: and also to request him, that it would please him to give commandement to dissolve a certaine fleet, which one John Tintam and one William Fabian, Englishmen, were making, by commandement of the duke of Medina Sidonia, to goe to the aforesayd parts of Ginnee. With which ambassage the King of England seemed to be very pleased, and they were received of him with very great honour, and he condescended unto all that the ambassadours required of him, at whose hands they received authentically writings of the diligence which they had performed,

*The first
cause of
this am-
bassage.*

*The
second
cause.*

*The third
cause.*

¹ Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, vi, 122-4. Hakluyt introduces this document by referring to the confirmation of the treaties between Edward IV and John II, at Montemor (8 February 1482) and at Westminster (12 September 1482). See Rymer, *Foedera*, xii, 145, 163.

with publication thereof by the heralds: and also provisoers of those confirmations which were necessary. And having dispatched all things well, and with the king's good will, they returned home into their countrey.

107. PETITION OF KING EDWARD IV OF ENGLAND TO POPE SIXTUS IV REGARDING A VOYAGE TO AFRICA. 27 FEBRUARY 1481¹.

As it is advantageous to the christian religion that wealth and other things, precious for their natural excellence, should be drawn into its power from the hands of the infidels, he willingly permits his subjects to pass over to any parts of Africa for traffic and the exchange of baser merchandise for nobler, provided this be sanctioned by the pope's authority.

He therefore prays his holiness that no suspicion may attach to this voyage, and to grant letters for the aforesaid purpose, to date from the 1st of November last. London, 27 February. [Signed.]

108. THE COUNT OF PENAMACOR AND CERTAIN ENGLISHMEN PLAN A VOYAGE TO GUINEA. 1488².

In this year [1488], the king was advised that the count of Penamacor, tireless with his forces and small power in prosecuting that treachery which he had already begun against him and his estate and service, had passed to Frandes and to Ingraterra; and after changing his name to Pero Nunez, he had bought merchandise and goods for the trades and barthers of Guinee. And he had summoned and incited certain persons and certain ship-owners of those lands for this purpose, and these people were already in some manner ready to sail. Accordingly, the king, to put a stop to happenings so much to his disservice and loss, ordered Alvaro de Caminha, who afterwards died while

¹ *Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1202-1509*, no. 474. Abstract.

² Pina, ch. 34. Extract, translated. Resende gives an identical version of this affair, copied verbally from Pina, in his *Chronicle of King John II*, ch. 73.

captain of the island of Sam Thome, to be sent to Ingraterra with a well-armed caravel, so that by some trick or pretence he might seize the said count and bring him to these kingdoms, or kill him, if he could not do otherwise. But for lack of opportunity, or for some other reason, none of these things was done. It was then fitting in this matter for the king to resolve to send Jan' Alvarez Rangel, one of his knights, with letters and instructions to the King of Ingraterra, notifying him with many causes and reasons added of the treacherous, past and present, activities of the said count, and asking him, as a good example of kingly behaviour and, besides, since by virtue of their alliances he was in every way obliged to do this, to be pleased to command the count to be seized and delivered up to him, so that justice might be done in these kingdoms and amends made according to the desert of his sins, or at the least to seize him and hold him always in perpetual imprisonment. To satisfy the demands of the king in some manner, the King of Ingraterra ordered the said count to be imprisoned in the Castello de Londres [Tower of London]. The king was at once informed of this, and he was very pleased with it; and thereupon he very hurriedly despatched as ambassador to the King of Ingraterra the licentiate, Aires d'Almada, magistrate of civil causes in his court, who passed quickly by sea to that country, where the said count was still in prison. With great earnestness and with arguments based on right and on their alliances, he principally demanded that the said count should be released or brought to justice, whichever course might fit the case. In the end, the said king, after holding his council about the entire question, refused, and would consent to neither of those demands; and he willed that, because of the tranquillity and security which the king would thereby gain, the said count should remain in prison, where he continued for some time. Afterwards, with the change that time brings, he was released from the said prison, and he came to Barcelona, where the King and Queen of Castella were at the time of the surrender of Perpinham. From here he went to Sevilha, where his wife and children were, and a few days after he died.

109. THE VOYAGES OF WILLIAM HAWKINS THE ELDER TO GUINEA AND BRAZIL DURING THE YEARS 1530-2¹.

A BRIEF relation of two sundry voyages made by the worshipful M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, father to Sir John Haukins, knight, late treasurer of her majestie's navie, in the yeere 1530 and 1532².

OLDE M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wisdome, valure, experience and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloved of K. Henry the 8, and being one of the principall sea-captaines in the west parts of England in his time, not contented with the short voyages commonly then made onely to the knowne coasts of Europe, armed out a tall and goodly shippe of his owne of the burthen of 250 tunnes, called the Paule of Plimmouth, wherwith he made three long and famous voyages unto the coast of Brasil, a thing in those dayes very rare, especially to our nation. In the course of which voyages he touched at the river of Sestos upon the coast of Guinea, where hee traffiqued with the negros, and tooke of them elephants' teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and so arriving on the coast of Brasil, he used there such discretion, and behaved himself so wisely with those savage people, that he grew into great familiarity and friendship with them. Insomuch that in his second voyage, one of the savage kings of the country of Brasil was contented to take ship with him, and to be transported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed, leaving behinde in the country as a pledge for his safetie and returne againe one, Martin Cockeram, of Plimmouth. This Brasilian king, being arrived, was brought up to London and presented to K. Henry the 8, lying as then at White-hall; at the sight of whom the king and all the nobilitie did not a litle marvaile, and not without cause; for in his cheekes were holes made according to their savage maner, and

The second voyage of M. William Haukins to Brasil. A king of Brasil brought into England.

¹ Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, xi, 23-4.

² This is the title as printed in the edition of the *Principal navigations*, which appeared in 1600, and reproduced in the MacLehose edition of 1905. In the first edition of 1589, however, these voyages were entitled 'A voyage to Brasil, made by the worshipfull M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, father to Sir John Haukins, knight, now living, in the yeere of 1530'.

therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the said holes, which in his owne countrey was reputed for a great braverie. He had also another hole in his nether lip, wherein was set a precious stone about the bignes of a pease. All his apparel, behaviour and gesture were very strange to the beholders.

Having remained here the space almost of a whole yeere, and the king with his sight fully satisfied, M. Hawkins, according to his promise and appointment, purposed to convey him againe into his countrey. But it fell out in the way that by a change of aire and alteration of diet the said savage king died at sea, which was feared would turn to the losse of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Neverthelesse, the savages, being fully perswaded of the honest dealing of our men with their prince, restored againe the said pledge without any harme to him or any man of the company: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England, with their ship fraighted and furnished with the commodities of the countrey. Which Martin Cockeram, by the witenesse of Sir John Hawkins, being an officer in the towne of Plimmouth, was living within these fewe yeeres.

110. VOYAGE OF THE *Paul* TO GUINEA AND BRAZIL, THE MASTER BEING JOHN LANDYE. 1540¹.

[24 February 1540.] A ship called le Pawle of Plymouth, whereof John Landye is master, left on the same day.

From William Hawkins, denizen:

for 940 hachettes, 940 comes and 375 sarpes [knives], weighing 30 cwt. of iron - - - - -	value 75s. Subsidy 3s. 9d.
for 5 cwt. of copper (100s.) and 5 cwt. of lead (20s.) in manelios -	value £6. Subsidy 6s.
for 3 lengths of woollen cloth without grain - - - - -	- - Customs 3s. 6d.
for 19 dozen night cappes (40s.), 10 cwt. of copper (£10) and 10 cwt. of lead (40s.) - - - - -	value £14. Subsidy 14s.

¹ Plymouth Customs Accounts. PRO, E122, 116/11. Translation made from text in J. A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins* (1927), p. 13. Dr. Williamson discovered this, and the following, document, and they are reproduced by his kind permission.

111. THE RETURN OF THE *Paul* TO PLYMOUTH. 20 OCTOBER 1540¹.

[1540.] A ship called le Paule of Plymouth, whereof John Landye is master, entered on October 20.

From Wm. Hawkyns, denizen:

for 92 tons of brasyll - value £613. 6s. 8d. Subsidy £30. 13s. 4d.

1 dozen elephants'

teeth weighing 1 cwt. - value 30s. Subsidy 18d.

112. ABSTRACTS FROM THE DEPOSITIONS OF JOHN LANDEY AND THOMAS WINTER. JULY 1549².

19 July 1549. John Landey, of Plymowthe in Devon, mariner, stated that he was the captain of the *Mary Winter* for six days after Candlemas.

20 July 1549. Thomas Winter, of Stonehouse in Devon, stated that about Candlemas last John Landay sailed as captain of his ship [the *Mary Winter*]. The ship had attacked the king's enemies on the high seas, and had carried a hulk of Danzig into Cork Haven in Ireland.

113. ABSTRACT FROM THE DEPOSITION OF EDWARD BAYLY. 22 NOVEMBER 1555³.

Edward Bayly, mariner of Liverpool, examined on oath before doctor William Cooke, stated that a month before last Michaelmas, or thereabouts, he sailed in the *George* of Westchester from the Isles of Surreyes [Azores] towards Westchester in England. The master of the ship, in which he sailed, was one John Landy, of Westchester.

114. CAPTAIN RICHARD GRAY SEIZES A FLANDERS HULK OFF THE COAST OF BARBARY. 1546⁴.

At Westminster, the XXVth of July, 1546.

... Letters were addressed to the customers, comptrollers and serchers of the port of London, whereas at the sute of

¹ Plymouth Customs Accounts, PRO, E122, 116/13. Translated.

² High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/5.

³ Ibid., 13/10.

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1542-7*, p. 494.

Cornelis de Palude, factour to Balthezar de Ahedo and Tyelman van Kerssell, merchauntes straungers, there had been by the counselles order restored unto him xxx^{ti} chestes of suger, receved out of the handes of Nicholas Nevile, servaunt to my lord admirall, which suger was lately tofore taken out of an hulk of Flaunders upon the coste of Barbarie by one Richard Graye, capitayne of a ship of warre perteyneng to my said lorde¹, contrary to right and equitie, and by the removeng of yt from place to place was now soo broken and disordered that the sale thereof being moche empayred therbye, the said Cornelis was forced (as it were) to make sute to the lordes of the counsell for licence to transport and reconvey the same beyond the sees for the trymmeng and refyneng of the same; the kinges majestes plesar and commaundement was they shuld permitt the said Cornelis, and all others his assygned, to lade and transport the said xxx^{ti} chestes of suger into any parte of beyond the sees at his and their libertie and free disposicion, without any their lettes, impedymentes, &c., or any demaund for custome or other dueties, either inwarde or outwardes towards his highnes use for or concernyng the same.

115. WAS ENGLISH TRADE WITH BARBARY CONTINUOUS ONWARDS FROM 1548? SIR WILLIAM CHESTER TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL. LONDON. 14 AUGUST 1561².

It maye pleas your honor to understand that we have ben in hand with the Portingall³, which hathe byn recomended by Sir Nycolas Frogmarton⁴, as toching the new viage, whiche he offred to discover uppon the cooste of Barbary; and now that he hathe declared the place, we fyend hit to be the verie same that

¹ Sir Thomas Seymour (1508?-49) became Lord High Admiral in 1548.

² State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, PRO, SP 12/19, no. 21. Sir William Chester (1509-95?) was active in promoting English trade with Barbary, Guinea and Persia. He was a prominent member of the Drapers' Company, became a London alderman in 1552, was knighted in 1557, and became lord mayor in 1560.

³ A certain Captain Melchior, who had traded to Barbary and had formerly been in French employment. See *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, 1561-2, no. 279.

⁴ Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (1515-71), English ambassador in France from 1559 to 1564.

hathe byn knowen and traded contynewally by us this xij or xiiij yeres. Hit dothe playnlie apper unto us, as well by that whiche we fynde ourselfs as comunyng with hime as also by the enformacion of credible persons, who dothe bothe knowe his person and conversacion, that he is a man of smawll credit and honnestie. And for that we wold not be tedijs to you, we do seand the bearer herof, Thomas Hernne, purposlie unto your honnor, who cane at lenth enforme you of all that which shall be myndfull in this matter, humble prainge your honnor that by hime, who maye be advertyzed of your pleasure, which we shall be redy to acomplyshe as knoweth God, who longe preserve your honnor in good helth. Written from London, this xiiijth of Awgust *anno* 1561.

Post scripto. Forasmuche as the sayde Portingall is commendyd to us by the queenes majesties ambassador, we mynde to defraye his charges with his companye syns his arryvall here, and to give hym in rewarde C crownes towards his charges of retorne, beseching your honowre to advertyse by this being your pleasure of this our deternynacion.¹

Your honnors to comawnde,

Wylyyam Chester
William Garrard
Thomas Lodge

[*Addressed*].—To the right honorable Sir William Cecil, knight, pryncypall secretary to the quenes majesti in haste.

[*Endorsed*].—14 August *anno* 1561. Lord maioir of London and others to my master. Portingale.

116. JOHN SCHEYFVE REPORTS THAT THOMAS WINDHAM HAD SET SAIL FOR BARBARY. LONDON. 25 AUGUST 1551².

. . . A few days ago, two ships sailed from here for Barbary under the command of an Englishman called Mr. Wyndham, who formerly practised piracy. One of the ships is well manned and armed, and the other has a cargo of merchandise, among which there are pikes and armour. Some say that the ships are still in Cornwall, and that Mr. Wyndham is dead.

¹ The postscript is in another hand.

² *Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1550-2, p. 347. Extract.*

117. WINDHAM'S FIRST VOYAGE TO BARBARY. 1551¹.

The originall of the first voyage for traffique into the kingdom of Marocco in Barbarie, begun in the yeere 1551, with a tall ship called the Lion of London, whereof went as captaine master Thomas Windam, as appeareth by this extract of a letter of James Aldaie to the worshipfull master Michael Locke, which Aldaie professeth himselfe to have bene the first inventor of this trade.

WORSHIPFUL Sir, having lately bene acquainted with your intent to prosecute the olde intermitted discoverie for Catai, if therein with my knowledge, travell or industrie I may doe you service, I am readie to doe it, and therein to adventure my life to the uttermost point. Trueth it is that I have bene by some men (not my friends) evill spoken of at London, saying that, although I be a man of knowledge in the arte of navigation and cosmographie, and that I have bene the inventor of some voyages that be now growen to great effect, yet say they maliciously and without just cause that I have not bene willing at any season to proceed in those voyages, that I have taken in hand, taking example especially of two voyages. The one was when I was master in the great barke Aucher for the Levant², in which voyage I went not, but the causes they did not know of my let from the same, nor of the other. But first the very trueth is that I was from the same voyage letted by the prince's letters, which my master, Sebastian Gabota [Cabot], had obtained for that purpose, to my great grieffe. And as touching the second voyage, which I invented for the trade of Barbarie, the living God knoweth that I say most true that, when the great sweate was³ (whereon the chiefe of those with whom I joyned in that voyage died, that is to say, Sir John Lutterell, John Fletcher, Henry

¹ Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, vi, 136-7. The punctuation in the text of extracts from the *Principal navigations* has been modified to accord as far as possible with modern practice.

² The bark *Aucher*, under the conduct of Roger Bodenham, made a prosperous voyage to Sicily and other places in the Levant in 1550, and it appears to be to this voyage that Alday here refers.

³ A serious outbreak of sweating sickness occurred in July 1551 (*Cal. S.P. Foreign*, 1547-53, pp. 58, 72, 88).

Ostrich and others), I myselve was also taken with the same sweate in London, and, after it, whether with evill diet in keeping or how I know not, I was cast into such an extreame fever as I was neither able to ride nor goe; and the shippe, being at Portesmouth, Thomas Windam had her away from thence, before I was able to stand upon my legges, by whom I lost at that instant fourescore pound. Besides, I was appointed by them that died (if they had lived) to have had the whole government both of shippe and goods, because I was to them the sole inventer of that trade.

In the first voyage to Barbary there were two Moores, being noblemen, whereof one was of the king's blood, conveyed by the said master Thomas Windham into their countrey out of England.

Yours humble at your commandement,

James Alday.

118. JOHN SCHEYFVE REPORTS THAT WINDHAM WAS ORGANISING A SECOND VOYAGE TO BARBARY. LONDON. 6 MARCH 1552¹.

... Three great ships are being laden with all sorts of munitions of war at Dover to be transported, as it is said, to Barbary.

119. WINDHAM'S SECOND VOYAGE TO BARBARY. 1552².

The second voyage to Barbary in the yeere 1552. Set forth by the right worshipfull Sir John Yorke, Sir William Gerard, Sir Thomas Wroth, master Frances Lambert, master Cole, and others. Written by the relation of master James Thomas, then page to master Thomas Windham, chiefe captaine of this voyage.

THE shippes that went on this voyage were three, whereof two were of the river of Thames, that is to say, the Lyon of London, whereof master Thomas Windham was captaine and part owner, of an hundred & fiftie tunnes; the other was the Buttolfe, about fourescore tunnes; and a Portugall caravel, bought of certaine Portugals in Newport in Wales,

¹ *Gal. S.P. Spanish, 1550-2*, p. 469. Extract.

² Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, vi, 138-40.

and fraughted for this voyage, of summe sixtie tunnes. The number of men in the fleete were an hundred and twentie. The master of the Lyon was one, John Kerry, of Mynhed in Somersetshire, his mate was David Landman. The chiefe captaine of this small fleete was master Thomas Windham, a Norffolke gentleman borne, but dwelling at Marshfield-parke in Somersetshire. This fleet departed out of King-rode neere Bristoll about the beginning of May 1552, being on a Munday in the morning; and the Munday fortnight next ensuing in the evening came to an ancker at their first port in the roade of Zafia, or Asafi, on the coast of Barbarie, standing in 32 degrees of latitude, and there put on land part of our marchandise to be conveied by land to the citie of Marocco. Which being done, and having refreshed ourselves with victuals and water, we went to the second port called Santa Cruz, where we discharged the rest of our goods, being good quantitie of linnen and woollen cloth, corall, amber, jet, and divers other things well accepted by the Moores. In which road we found a French ship; which, not knowing whether it were warre or peace betweene England and France, drewe herselfe as neere under the towne wals as she could possible, craving aide of the towne for her defence, if need were, which indeed, seeing us draw neere, shot at us a piece from the wals, which came over the Lion, our admirall, between the mainemast & her foremast. Whereupon we comming to an anker, presently came a pinnes aboard us to know what we were, who, understanding that we had bene there the yere before, & came with the good leave of their king in marchantwise, were fully satisfied, and gave us good leave to bring our goods peaceably on shore, where the viceroy, whose name was Sibill Manache, within short time after came to visite us, and used us with all curtesie. But by divers occasions, we spent here very neere three moneths, before we could get in our lading, which was sugar, dates, almonds, and malassos or sugar syrrope. And for all our being here in the heate of the sommer, yet none of our company perished by sicknesse. Our ships being laden, we drew into the sea for a westerne wind for England. But, being at sea, a great leake fell upon the Lion, so that we were driven to Lancerota and Forteventura, where, betweene the two ilands,

Asafi
[*Safi*].

Santa
Cruz
[*Agadir*].

The Eng-
lish were
at Santa
Cruz the
yeere be-
fore, being
1551.

we came to a road, whence wee put on land out of our sayd ship 70 chestes of sugar upon Lancerota, with some dozen or sixteene of our company, where the inhabitants, supposing we had made a wrongfull prize of our caravell, suddenly came with force upon our people, among whom I myselfe was one, tooke us prisoners, and spoiled the sugars; which thing being perceived from our ships, they manned out three boates, thinking to rescue us, and drave the Spaniards to flight, whereof they slew eighteene, and tooke their governour of the iland prisoner, who was a very aged gentleman about 70 yeeres of age. But chasing the enemie so farre, for our recoverie, as powder and arrowes wanted, the Spaniardes perceiving this, returned, and in our men's retire they slew sixe of them. Then a parle grew, in the which it was agreed that we, the prisoners, should be by them restored, and they receive their olde governour, giving us a testimonie, under his and their hands, what damages wee had there received, the which damages were here restored and made good by the King of Spaine his marchants upon our returne into England. After wee had searched and mended our leake, being returned aboard, we came under saile, and, as wee were going to the sea on the one side of the iland, the Cacafuego and other ships of the King of Portugal's armada entered at the other, and came to anker in the road from whence we were but newly departed, and shot off their great ordinance in our hearing. And here by the way it is to bee understood that the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voiage the yeere before as also in this, they gave out in England by their marchants that, if they tooke us in those partes, they would use us as their mortall enemies, with great threates and menaces. But by God and good providence wee escaped their handes. From this iland shaping our course for England, we were seven or eight weekes, before we could reach the coast of England. The first port wee entered into was the haven of Plimmouth, from whence within short time wee came into the Thames, and landed our marchandise at London about the ende of the moneth of October 1552.

120. CAMDEN'S STATEMENT THAT ENGLISH VOYAGES TO GUINEA BEGAN IN 1552¹.

[1571.] Disputes for several years had occurred at this time between Portuguese and English merchants, seeing that the latter from the year 1552 were pursuing a lucrative trade for gold with the Nigriti in that region of Africa, which they call Guinea, and the former, who had first opened up those shores, were defending them by force and by arms as vigorously as they could; to such an extent that sometimes they would contend in naval battle and on both sides detain the ships.

121. BRAZ D'ALVIDE TO KING JOHN III OF PORTUGAL. 25 AUGUST 1552².

. . . Furthermore, he reported that one Simão Pires, a Portuguese pilot, who had a wife and children in Lisbon, had been driven to the parts of the north, and had gone to Mina, and had purchased 30 marks of gold and carried 18 tons of malagueta, and came with the ship by chance to England.

122. ABSTRACT FROM THE ALLEGATIONS OF SIMÃO PIRES IN LISBON. SEPTEMBER 1567³.

Examined on 2 September 1567, in Lisbon, before doctor Antonio Saranca, concerning certain spoils made by English pirates upon Portuguese merchantmen, Simão Pires, a ship-master of Villa de Conde, alleged that in October or November of the year 1550, while he was conducting a ship from the island of Madeira and the island of St. Thoma on the way to Flanders, he was attacked and plundered by English pirates, who robbed him of his cargo of sugar and other goods to the value of 45,000 gold crowns. He had complained to King Edward VI of England but had received no redress. He further alleged that in 1555

¹ W. Camden, *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha* (London; 1615), p. 206. Extract, translated.

² Sousa, *Annaes*, p. 438. Abstract.

³ State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth. PRO, SP 70/95, ff. 244, 246.

the pirate Strangewise had seized a ship which he was taking to Flanders.

123. PREPARATIONS FOR WINDHAM'S VOYAGE TO GUINEA. (1553.) DEPOSITION OF BARTHOLOMEW STOCKFISH. 6 FEBRUARY 1555¹.

[Bartholomew Stockfish, examined before Judge Cooke, stated] that . . . the said Sir George Barnes, Sir John Yorck, Mr. Garrard, Mr. Wyndam and Frances Lambart, havinge provided the said shipp articulatid, callid the Primeros, then lienge in Portesmowthe, did at ther proper costes and chardges as one fellowship and cumpany togethurs prepare, rigge and make in a redines the said shipp for one voyadge with her to be made from thens unto Genea [Guinea]; wherof the forsaid Mr. Wyndam was capiteigne, beinge one of the said cumpanye, providinge for the said shipp in the names of the said fellowship as well vitelles as mariners and other necessaries for the same. For this deponent was a mariner of the said shipp at that tyme, and presente at Portesmowthe by the space of a monethe before the said shipp made sayle, where he sawe the said Mr. Windam doe and provide all thinges for the said shipp, furnishinge as is beforesaid.

[Furthermore that] the said Mr. Wyndam, beinge one of the cumpanye and fellowship of the forsaid merchauntes, in settinge furthe the bovesaid shipp did here in London presse and hire the said William Browne articulatid for one of the quartermasters of the said shipp, who exercisid the said office afterwardes in the same hereabowte untill the tyme of his deathe. Wiche Browne, by commission from the said Mr. Wyndam, hirid and prest this deponent for a mariner with other moe to sayle in the same shipp. . . . After the said William Browne was prest for quartermaster, as is before said, he servid by land here in London *de certa scientia et noticia huius iurati* by the space of vij wekes before the said voyadge begon, and afterwardes at Portesmowthe a certen tyme, but how longe there he dothe not

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/9. Extract. Printed for the first time.

remember. And seithe that he was presente on a certen day with the said Browne at one Watson's howse in the Olde Change, where the said Mr. Wyndam then was, and there saw the said Browne receyve XL^s for ij monethes wages. Wherby he knoweth that the said Browne's wages by all the tyme of his beinge in the said shipp was XX^s *per mensem*.

124. DEPOSITION OF HENRY BOLD. 8 FEBRUARY 1555¹.

[Henry Bold, examined before Judge Cooke, stated that he] went as a mariner in the ship callid the Lion, then in lyke caase preparid and sett furthe for Genea, by the order of the said Mr. Barnes, Mr. Garrard, Sir John Yorck and Frances Lambart, as the shipp articulatid, nominatid the Primeros, wherof Mr. Wyndam was capteigne, and one other shipp, callid the Moone, did. And seithe that the said Mr. Wyndam did for the said merchantes, beinge of ther cumpanye, prepare, provide and buye victuelles for the said shipp's furnishinge and settinge furthe, and allso hirid and prest mariners to sayle the same. Wiche this deponent knoweth to be trewe, for that he was prest and taken to serve by the fornamid Mr. Wyndam in the said Lion as other wer.

125. DEPOSITION OF GEORGE BARNES. 8 FEBRUARY 1555².

[George Barnes, citizen and alderman of London, in reply to the questions of Judge Cooke, stated that] he, maister Garrard, and other theire company, furnisshed the shipp articulate [the *Primrose*] withe vitall, takle and apparell for a viage from Englund to Genea, the shippe beyng theire own and not hyred, and at the tyme articulate lyinge at Portsemouthe under the governamente of maister Wyndam, captein thereof, and other theire ministers in the same shippe. . . . Nether he nor yett maister Garrard never hyred the saide William Browne for any quartermaister, nor never sawe or spake to his knowledge withe

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/9. Extract. Printed for the first time.

² High Court of Admiralty, Libels. PRO, HCA 24/24, no. 80. Extract. Printed for the first time.

the said Browne; yett forasmuche as he founde in a booke of memorandum, made by John Crowche, factour for maister Garrard, and founde in the said shippe at her aryvall in England, that suche a one was hyred for a maryner in the viage articulate, he belevethe yt to be true, and that he hadd twenty shillynges a monethe appoynted for his waiges. [Furthermore] at the execution of this fyrst warrant¹, viij^{li}. iiij^s. iiij^d of the said wages remayned in the stocke of the company, beyng before that tyme attached in the hands of maister Lambard, beyng one of the company.

126. KING JOHN III OF PORTUGAL TRIES TO STOP WINDHAM'S VOYAGE. PRINCE DOM LUIS TO ANTONIO ANES PINTEADO. LISBON. 8 DECEMBER 1552².

The copie of the letter of Don Lewes, the infant and brother to the King of Portugall, sent into England to Anthonie Anes Pinteado.

ANTHONY ANES PINTEADO, I, the infant, brother to the king, have me heartily commended unto you. Peter Gonsalves is gone to seeke you, desiring to bring you home again into your countrey. And for that purpose he hath with him a safe conduct for you, granted by the king, that therby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and stormie, yet faile not to come; for in the time that his majestie hath given you, you may doe many things to your contentation and gratifying the king, wherof I would be right glad; and to bring the same to passe I will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But forasmuch as Peter Gonsalves will make further declaration hereof unto you, I say no more at this present. Written in Lisbone, the eight day of December. *Anno* 1552.

The infant Don Lewes.

¹ On 28 August 1554, a warrant was issued by the High Court of Admiralty for the arrest of all the goods of the deceased William Brown (PRO, HCA 38/4).

² Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, VI, 153-4.

127. EDWARD CLINTON TO DR. GRIFFIN LEYSON. WESTMINSTER. 28 FEBRUARY 1553¹.

After my hartie commendacons unto you. Where I am advertised that [a] certeyne Portingale, an evell disposed parson, hath spoken slaunderous words agaynst the lordes of the kinges majesties pryvie counsell, and goeth about to entyce away a countreyman of his, which is stayed for certeyne service of the kinges, whereunto he is appointed. These therefore shall be to require you to laye wayt for the said fellowe, whome you shall comyt to ward, till I have taken order for his examynacon. And thus I byd you hartely farewell. From the court at Westminster the last of February.

Your lovyng friend,

E. Clynton

Mr. Wyndham can better infourme you of the same malefactor.

[*Latin*]. On Tuesday, the last day of February, in the year of the Lord, according to the English reckoning, 1552, and in the seventh year of the reign of our supreme lord Edward VI, during the afternoon of the same day, in the presence of master Griffin Leyson, doctor of laws, judge, etc., at his house, etc., in the presence of me Roger Parkar, notary public, on account of the absence of master Roger Huntte my master etc., Stephen Damota and Peter Gonsolez, Portuguese, were present and personally appeared. These men [duly?]² and according to the force, form and effect of letters of this kind, then [presented?]² to him by William Watson, servant of Thomas Windam, of gentle birth, he committed to the compter in le Bradstrete under the safe custody of the [keeper?]² until such time as order should be given for their release.

[*Addressed*]. To my loving frend, doctore Leyson, juge of the admyraltie. Received by William Watson, servant to Thomas Wyndam, of gentle birth, on Tuesday, the last of February 1552.

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Exemplifications. PRO, HCA 14/4, no. 14. Printed for the first time.

² The right edge of the MS. is mutilated.

128. PETITION OF THOMAS WINDHAM. 3 MARCH 1553¹.

Where it pleaseth the kinges most excellent majeste to lycence me, Thomas Wyndam, to saille for capytaine in an intended voyage, and therupon have agrede with two Portingales, the one named Antony Ayries² for petycapitaine, and the oder Francisco Rodoriges for pylott, to saylle with me in the same voiage: may it please youe to be infourmed that Stephane Damot and Peter Goncalyves, also Portingales, having knowlaige of the saide agreement, not onely did firste entise the said Francisco to forsake the said intended voiage, and, having him in ther keping, did deteigne hym as captive, mynding to have conveyde him beyonde the seas; but also, apprehending afterwarde the said Anto[ny]³ Ayries, intending also to disswade him from his former promys a[nd] agremente, saide unto them bothe that it was to be mervailed [that?] they, being strangers, shulde go aboutes to enriche themself in [this?] realme, considered that the kinges majeste, upon knowlaige that his un[. . .] were greatly enryched, did therfore cause them to be bothe behedd[ed]. Wherupon I have caused theym bothe to be imprysoned in the

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Exemplifications. PRO, HCA 14/4, no. 13. Printed for the first time.

² Antonio Anes Pinteado. His career casts an interesting sidelight upon the organisation of these early English voyages to Guinea. He first appears in the records as the master and owner of a ship of 280 tons which lay at anchor in Lisbon harbour in 1544. At that time, he was evidently a prosperous trader and navigator (PRO, HCA 1/33. 15 March 1544/5). He next appears as the captain of two ships, which left Lisbon for Brazil in the spring of 1547 (M. Letts, *Hans Staden*; 1928; p. 34). Four years later, he was knighted by King John III of Portugal in recognition of his services. By this time he was 'in great favour with the king of Portugall', because he was an expert pilot, a politic captain and cunning in sailing, and the protection of the coasts of Guinea and Brazil against French corsairs had been committed to his care. He had become 'a terrour on the sea' to the French. But shortly afterwards, he lost favour and had to leave Portugal. He came to England, probably in 1552, and offered his services to Windham. This was a serious matter to the Portuguese, because it was directly contrary to their policy of keeping secret all business relating to their empire. Accordingly, various plans were tried to lure the renegade back to Portugal. But all failed. In 1553, Pinteado conducted Windham's fleet to Benin (*Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1553*, p. 14; *Principal navigations*, VI, 152-4).

³ The bracketed words and letters in this document are my insertions where the MS. is mutilated.

[compter?] of London. And for due correction and punyishment of their abhomynable sklander and untrouth, yt may please youe further [to] procede as shall stande with equytie and justice.

Thomas Wyndam¹

[*Latin*]. Presented by Thomas Wyndam, on Friday, the third day of the month of March in the year of the Lord according to the English reckoning 1552, and in the seventh year of the reign of our supreme lord Edward VI, before master Leyson², judge etc., at his house³.

129. RICHARD EDEN'S ACCOUNT OF WINDHAM'S VOYAGE TO GUINEA⁴.

The first voiage to Guinea and Benin.

IN the yeere of Our Lord 1553 the twelfth day of August, sailed from Portsmouth two goodly ships, the Primerose and the Lion, with a pinnas called the Moone, being all well furnished as well with men of the lustiest sort, to the number of sevenscore, as also with ordinance and victuals requisite to such a voiage; having also two captaines, the one a stranger called Anthonie Anes Pinteado, a Portugall, borne in a towne named The Port [Oporto] of Portugall, a wise, discreet and sober man, who for his cunning in sailing, being as well an expert pilot as a politike captaine, was sometime in great favour with the King of Portugall, and to whom the coasts of Brasile and Guinea were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a terrour on the sea in those parts, and was furthermore a gentleman of the king his master's house. But, as fortune in maner

Pinteado.

*Brasile.
Guinea.*

¹ The signature is in Windham's own hand, but the body of the petition is in another hand.

² Judge Griffin Leyson of the High Court of Admiralty.

³ Estevão Damota and Pero Gonçalves, the Portuguese merchants charged by King John III to secure the persons of Antonio Anes Pinteado and Francisco Rodrigues, were examined by Judge Leyson on 12 March 1552/3 and bound over on payment of the sum of £500 to appear before the court whenever required. They were released on the following day (PRO, HCA 14/4, no. 15; *APC*, 1552-4, p. 235).

⁴ *Decades of the New World* (1555). The text used was that in Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, VI, 145-52. Eden's preface and 'briefe description of Afrike' have been omitted.

never favoureth but flattereth, never promiseth but deceiveth, never raiseth but casteth downe againe; and, as great wealth & favour have alwaies companions, emulation and envie, he was, after many adversities & quarels made against him, inforced to come into England; where in this golden voyage he was evil matched with an unequal companion, and unlike match of most sundry qualities & conditions, with vertues few or none adorned. Thus departed these noble ships under saile on their voyage. But first captaine Windam, putting forth of his ship at Portsmouth a kinsman of one of the head marchants, and shewing herein a muster of the tragical partes hee had conceived in his braine, and with such small beginnings nourished so monstrous a birth that more happy, yea and blessed, was that yong man, being left behind, then if he had bene taken with them, as some do wish he had done the like by theirs. Thus sailed they on their voyage, untill they came to the iland of Madera, where they tooke in certaine wines for the store of their ships, and paid for them as they agreed of the price. At these ilands, they met with a great galion of the King of Portugall, full of men and ordinance; yet such as could not have prevailed, if it had attempted to withstand or resist our ships, for the which cause it was set foorth, not onely to let and interrupt these our shippes of their purposed voiage but al other, that should attempt the like, yet chiefly to frustrate our voiage. For the King of Portugall was sinisterly informed that our ships were armed to his castle of Mina in those parties, whereas nothing lesse was ment.

*The is-
lands of
Maderc*

*The cas-
of Mina*

After that our ships departed from the iland of Madera forward on their voiage, began this worthy captaine Pinteado's sorow, as a man tormented with the company of a terrible Hydra, who hitherto flattred with him & made him a faire countenance and shew of love. Then did he take upon him to command all alone, setting nought both by captain Pinteado and the rest of the marchants' factors, sometimes with opprobrious words and somtimes with threatnings most shamfully abusing them, taking from Pinteado the service of the boies and certain mariners, that were assigned him by the order and direction of the worshipful merchants, and leaving him as a common mariner, which is the greatest despite and grief that can be to

a Portugale or Spaniard, to be diminished of their honor, which they esteem above all riches. Thus sailing forward on their voiage, they came to the ilands of Canarie, continuig their course from thence until they arrived at the iland of S. Nicholas, where they victualled themselves with fresh meat of the flesh of wild goats, whereof is great plenty in that iland, & in maner of nothing els. From hence folowing on their course, and tarying here & there at the desert ilands [Cape Verde islands?] in the way, because they would not come too timely to the countrey of Guinea for the heat, and tarying somewhat too long (for what can be well ministred in a commonwealth, where inequality with tyrannie wil rule alone), they came at the length to the first land of the country of Guinea, where they fel with the great river of Sesto, where they might for their marchandizes have laden their ships with the graines of that countrey, which is a very hote fruit and much like unto a fig as it groweth on the tree. For as the figs are full of small seeds, so is the said fruit full of graines, which are loose within the cod [i.e. husk], having in the mids thereof a hole on every side. This kind of spice is much used in cold countries, & may there be sold for great advantage for exchange of other wares. But our men, by the perswasion or rather inforcement of this tragicall captaine, not regarding and setting light by that commoditie in comparison of ye fine gold they thirsted, sailed an hundred leagues further, until they came to the golden land; where, not attempting to come neere the castle pertaining to the King of Portugall, which was within the river of Mina, they made sale of their ware only on this side & beyond it for the gold of that country to the quantitie of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, there being in case that they might have despatched all their ware for gold, if the untame braine of Windam had, or could have, given eare to the counsell and experience of Pinteado. For when that Windam, not satisfied with the gold which he had and more might have had, if he had taried about the Mina, commanding the said Pinteado (for so he tooke upon him) to lead the ships to Benin, being under the equinoctial line and an hundred and fifty leagues beyond the Mina, where he looked to have their ships laden with pepper. And being counselled of the said Pinteado

*The ilands
of
Canarie.
The iland
of S.
Nicholas.*

*The river
of Sesto.
Graines.*

*The
thirst of
gold.*

*The castle
of Mina.*

*The
quantitie
of gold.*

considering the late time of the yeere, for that time to go no further, but to make sale of their wares, such as they had, for gold, wherby they might have bene great gainers, Windam, not assenting hereunto, fell into a sudden rage, reviling the sayd Pinteado, calling him Jew, with other opprobrious words, saying 'This whoreson Jew hath promised to bring us to such places as are not, or as he cannot bring us unto; but if he do not, I will cut off his eares and naile them to the maste'. Pinteado gave the foresaid counsell to go no further for the safegard of the men and their lives, which they should put in danger, if they came too late, for the Rossia, which is their winter, not for cold but for smothering heate with close and cloudie aire and storming weather of such putrifying qualitie that it rotted the coates of their backs, or els for comming to soone for the scorching heat of the sunne, which caused them to linger in the way. But of force and not of will brought he the ships before the river of Benin, where riding at an anker they sent their pinnas up into the river 50 or 60 leagues, from whence certaine of the marchants with captaine Pinteado, Francisco¹ a Portugale, Nicholas Lambart gentleman, and other marchants, were conducted to the court, where the king remained, ten leagues from the riverside, whither, when they came, they were brought with a great company to the presence of the king, who, being a blacke Moore (although not so blacke as the rest), sate in a great huge hall, long and wide, the wals made of earth without windowes, the roofe of thin boords, open in sundry places, like unto lovers to let in the aire.

*Furie ad
mitteth n
counsel.*

*The
Rossia.*

*Rotting
heat.*

Benin.

*Francisco
Nich.
Lambart.*

*The King
of Benin
his court.*

And here to speake of the great reverence they give to their king, it is such that, if we would give as much to Our Savior Christ, we should remooove from our heads many plagues which we daily deserve for our contempt and impietie.

*Reverence
toward the
King.*

So it is, therefore, that, when his noblemen are in his presence, they never looke him in the face, but sit cowering, as we upon our knees, so they upon their buttocks with their elbowes upon their knees and their hands before their faces, not looking up until the king command them. And when they are comming toward the king, as far as they do see him they do shew such

¹ Francisco Rodrigues.

reverence, sitting on the ground with their faces covered as before. Likewise, when they depart from him, they turn not their backs toward him, but goe creeping backward with like reverence.

The communication between the King of Benin and our men.

And now to speake somewhat of the communication that was between the king and our men, you shall first understand that he himselfe could speake the Portugall tongue, which he had learned of a child. Therefore, after he had commanded our men to stand up, and demanded of them the cause of their coming into that countrey, they answered by Pinteado that they were marchants, traveiling into those parties for the commodities of his countrey for exchange of wares, which they had brought from their countries, being such as should be no lesse commodious for him and his people. The king, then, having of old lying in a certaine store-house 30 or 40 kintals [Port. *quintal*, a hundredweight]¹ of pepper (every kintall being an hundred weight), willed them to looke upon the same, and againe to bring him a sight of such merchandizes as they had brought with them. And thereupon sent with the captaine and the marchants certaine of his men to conduct them to the waters-side with other to bring the ware from the pinnas to the court. Who, when they were returned and the wares seen, the king grew to this ende with the merchants to provide in 30 dayes the lading of al their ships with pepper. And in case their merchandizes would not extend to the value of so much pepper, he promised to credite them to their next returne, and thereupon sent the country round about to gather pepper, causing the same to be brought to the court. So that within the space of 30 dayes, they had gathered fourescore tunne of pepper.

The king's gentleness towards our men.

In the meane season, our men, partly having no rule of themselves, but eating without measure of the fruits of the countrey and drinking the wine of the palme trees, that droppeth in the night from the cut of the branches of the same, and in such extreme heate running continually into the water, not used before to such sudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more dangerous), were thereby brought into swell-

¹ The use of this term exemplifies the prevalence of Portuguese influence in Benin.

ings and agues; insomuch that the later time of the yeere comming on caused them to die sometimes three & sometimes 4 or 5 in a day. Then Windam, perceiving the time of the 30 daies to be expired and his men dying so fast, sent to the court in post to captaine Pinteado & the rest to come away and to tary no longer. But Pinteado with the rest wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantity of pepper they had alreadie gathered & looked daily for much more, desiring him furthermore to remember the great praise and name they should win, if they came home prosperously, and what shame of the contrary. With which answer Windam, not satisfied, and many of their men dying dayly, willed and commaunded them againe either to come away forthwith or els threatened to leave them behinde. When Pinteado heard this answer, thinking to perswade him with reason, hee tooke his way from the court toward the ships, being conducted thither with men by the king's commandement.

In the meane season, Windam, all raging, brake up Pinteado's cabin, brake open his chestes, spoiled such provision of cold stilled waters and suckets [sweetmeats] as he had provided for his health, and left him nothing, neither of his instruments to saile by, nor yet of his apparell; and in the meanetime, falling sicke, himselfe died also. Whose death Pinteado, comming aboard, lamented as much as if he had bene the deere friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers did spit in his face, some calling him Jewe, saying that he had brought them thither to kill them, and some drawing their swords at him, making a shew to slay him. Then he, perceiving that they would needs away, desired them to tary that he might fetch the rest of the marchants, that were left at the court, but they would not grant this request. Then desired he them to give him the ship-boate, with as much of an old saile as might serve for the same, promising them therewith to bring Nicholas Lambert and the rest into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the court to the marchants, informing them of all the matter and promising them, if God would lend him life, to returne with all haste to fetch them. And thus was Pinteado kept ashiboord against his will, thrust

*The death
of
Windam.*

*Pinteado
evill used
of the
mariners.*

*This
Lambert
was a
Londiner
borne,
whose*

father had bin Lord Maior of London. among the boyes of the ship, not used like a man, nor yet like an honest boy, but glad to find favour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leaving one of their ships behind them¹, which they sunke for lacke of men to cary her. After this, within 6 or 7 dayes sayling, dyed also Pinteado for very pensiveness & thought that stroke him to the heart. A man worthy to serve any prince, and most vilely used. And of sevenscore men came home to Plimmouth scarcely forty, and of them many died. And that no man should suspect these words, which I have saide in commendation of Pinteado, to be spoken upon favour otherwise then trueth, I have thought good to adde hereunto the copie of the letters, which the King of Portugall and the infant, his brother, wrote unto him to reconcile him, at such time as upon the king his master's displeasure (and not for any other crime or offence, as may appeare by the said letters) he was only for povertie inforced to come into England, where he first perswaded our marchants to attempt the said voyages to Guinea. But as the King of Portugall too late repented him that he had so punished Pinteado, upon malicious informations of such as envied the man's good fortune, even so may it hereby appeare that in some cases even lions themselves may either be hindered by the contempt, or aided by the help, of the poore mise, according unto the fable of Esope.

The death of Pinteado.

Pinteado first perswaded our men to the voiage of Guinea

130. WINDHAM'S ARRIVAL AT THE ISLAND OF MADEIRA. SIMÃO GONÇALVES, CAPTAIN OF THE ISLAND, TO KING JOHN III. FUNCHAL. 22 SEPTEMBER 1553².

Sir. I wrote to your highness twenty days ago about what had happened in this island since the beginning of July with reference to the armed ships of França and Castela. I told you that a captain of the King of França, bearing the nickname Pec de Pao, with a fleet with which he had sacked the island of Palma, had anchored in the port of this city for eight days, and that he had slipped anchor with the intention of plying the sea until he saw

¹ The *Lion* was abandoned.

² Torre do Tombo, *Corpo chronologico*, pt. 1, maço 88, no. 122. Printed in Sousa Viterbo, II, 252-5. Translated.

come into his power a galleon, on which dom Diogo, the son of dom Aluoro de Bação¹, had sought refuge in this port. On the following day after having written to your highness, which was four days after Pee de Pao had left here, three ships from Ingraterra came to ride at anchor in Machiquo, a galleon of 400 tons, and another of 200, and the smallest is very low and long and rows broadside 18 oars and plays four great pieces of from 20 to 30 quintals; they carry at least three hundred men of battle, bowmen and arquebusiers, well equipped with arms, in order to defend themselves. It appears that they plan to go to trade at Cabo de Gee [Cape Ghir] or in the rivers and coast of Gine. They are well laden, and it was suspected that they were carrying horses, besides many other things, because neighing of horses was heard. The captain is Tomas de Gidom [Windham], an English nobleman; and Penteado comes with him, and also another Portuguese, a pilot by name Francisco Roiz [Rodrigues], a native of the island of the Açores. On the day he anchored, the captain sent an Englishman of his company to visit me, a man who speaks Spanish well, and he told me on the captain's behalf that they had come in search of two Englishmen, outlaws and rebels from their country, who sailed with Pee de Pau, and according to the signs had been seen here, making a strong case out of this to the effect that it was lawful for them to come hither with a fleet of such great cost. He said that they were men of quality and very warlike and of a resourcefulness worthy of their country, and that besides they had come for an additional reason which was that I had to comply with the principle of justice in regard to themselves and dom Diogo, who perchance was in this port, since he had seized a ship of the English, though Ingraterra was at peace with the emperor, and he had seized it when anchored in Cascaes, a port of your highness. With reference to this, he sent a letter to dom Diogo, who came to me and said that he wished to appear in court, and for the better execution of justice the dispute should be tried in Lixboa, because he understood the ship had been rightly seized for carrying cloth from França, adding that some days ago he had come upon it and had given chase, and by chance the ship,

¹ Don Alvaro de Bazán, Marquis of Santa Cruz.

after surrendering, had come to anchor in Cascaes, in such a way that what he had done was neither a violation of the ports of your highness nor an injustice to the English. He would give security to appear in court, or the Englishman might give him security, and he would arrange to deliver the ship to him, which was in Canaria. When the English messenger was satisfied with this reply, dom Diogo showed me a letter which seemed to have been given to him in error, and it was for me. Upon reading it, I saw that it was from Penteado, who wrote to me; and because I did not think it proper to accept a letter from a man who presumes to repudiate the service of your highness, I returned it to the Englishman, and I told him that I was amazed that a nobleman of quality, such as his captain appeared to be, who had come from Ingraterra for no reason but to seek two rebel Englishmen, should have allowed in his company a traitorous and worthless Portuguese mariner, so that he must esteem him, if he carried him for this reason, and if he came on the pay roll like any other mariner, then it was very strange. I concluded that, if the captain needed any thing from the land, he would receive every favour and consideration, and for this he might come to the port of the city, and with reference to the business of dom Diogo that justice was being done, and I offered my hospitality and said I would do everything he required, seeking to get him to come to this port in order to protect the places of the other jurisdiction, where an outrage was feared, and where most of the houses were empty and the people in the hills on account of their dread of Pee de Pao. I sent no reply to Penteado, because no offer was made to me in regard to him. Two days after, they came to the port, and they refused to salute the city to satisfy Penteado who was angry because his letter had not been accepted. They remained for four days, pretending that they wanted to buy wines, and they were satisfied with the word of dom Diogo but they made no agreement with him; for they sought the opposite. I sent to offer the captain in good language whatever he might reasonably require from the land, and to ask him whether he had your highness' permission by force or by consent, and whether he would surrender Penteado and the other Portuguese pilot to me; because a great many people from

the land had boarded six or seven French ships, which are here, and another Portuguese ship, and with the help of the galleon, which had been able to return safely, my plan was thus to make him stop this voyage, which in the interests of your highness ought not to be. At the end of seven days, during which they had been peacefully anchored in this island, they stood off from this port, and, sailing away, they put a crew in a boat and so boarded two ships coming from the islands, which were close by this city, and they were not seen from the port on account of a point which juts out into the sea. Francisco Rodriguez was one of the company in the boat. They opened the chests and took clothes and money and also some sacks of wheat and other provisions, which had been carried as victuals. On the following day, they turned towards Deserta, and with the aid of oars the ship approached close to land, and some one hundred men made their way to land in four boats. Fifty or sixty of them landed and the rest remained in the boats; and seven or eight men of those whom Luis Gonsalves d'Ataide has there, being informed, made their way to the passage through which the English were advancing with bows and arrows and mastiffs. Their guide was Francisco Rodriguez, who went ahead because he knew the land, and with him were four men with dogs, who proceeded to secure the road for the rest. As soon as those of the land thought it time, they defended the road against him with stones which they released, for owing to the nature of the land this is the strongest kind of opposition that could be offered against them; and the manner of it was that they went down with much greater speed than they had climbed up, some tumbling and others running. They did not fail to discharge their arquebuses and to shoot their arrows, but it was all in vain, and when they wanted to embark, the islanders approached the place of embarkation and hindered them with stones. The ships from the sea discharged their artillery at them, whereupon, as they had no protection, they refrained from attempting to inflict further damage upon the enemy. The road was left stained with much blood, and they found two arquebuses in it, one of them being broken, and also two bows, and on the ground many arrows, broken on the rocks; and also a cap was left behind, from which it is understood that

the Portuguese, Francisco Rodriguez, was one of the company, because the cap was seen on his head; it was cut by a stone, which is an indication that he did not get away unhurt. Seven or eight were seen to be taken on board, supported on the backs of others. Owing to this reception, which they were thus accorded, they went away less at peace than they left Deserta, whose people were glad of this security. When the English had gone—who appear to be going to Cabo de Gue or to the rivers and coast of Gine—dom Diogo delayed a short while, and at the time when he took his leave, he appeared to be irresolute for fear both of them and of Pee de Pao. The caravels, which come to get the sugar for your highness, reached here on this September 20. This island is very favoured by the arms which your highness sent it, because with them it will be able to defend itself properly; and so that it may be delivered from its other trouble—the need and poverty of the land—they beg your highness to be graciously pleased to allow payment to be made for them by borrowing. Moreover, I pray your highness to make it your business to see that 200 arquebuses and 50 cuirass suits with helmets are left here for the fortress, because in a time of necessity these will be the first and readiest available and in good order; and the officer, under whose charge they will be placed, or I, would give a good account of them.

I would remind your highness that the English are going to the coast of Gine, because any other region or latitude would be more unnatural for them than that which we are seeking; and there are Portuguese who can endure the climate of Gine well, and with ships of smaller burden the enemy could easily be routed, and it must be in time to prevent them following this course and route which they for the first time desire to take. May God guard and increase the life and royal estate of your highness. I kiss your royal hands. From Funchal, on 22 September 1553.

Captain Simão Gonçalves.

131. WINDHAM'S FLEET ON THE MALAGUETA COAST. ALLEGATIONS OF PANTALION FERNANDES. LISBON. 2 SEPTEMBER 1567¹.

Examined on 2 September 1567, in Lisbon, before doctor Antonio Saranca, concerning certain spoils made by English pirates upon Portuguese merchantmen, Pantalion Fernandes, inhabitant of Oporto, a sworn witness, said that fourteen years before, while he was holding his course from the city of Porto towards the island of Saint Thoma, at a place by name Lagoa² he came upon two English ships, which were sailing along all that coast of Malagueta busied in exchanging and buying merchandise, and by this deed the sum and pillage amounted to 5,000 ducats.

132. ABANDONMENT OF THE *Lion* AT BENIN. DEPOSITION OF HENRY BOLD. 8 FEBRUARY 1555³.

[Henry Bold, examined before Judge Cooke, stated] that in the tyme of the bovesaid iij shippis, callid the Primeros, the Lion, and the Moone, beinge at Bynney, a plage and sicknes fell amongst the mariners of the same shippis, wherebye there died and deceassid there divers and manye of the said mariners. So that the mariners of the said Lion, wherin this deponent was, wer taken furthe of the same and placid to bringe home the Primerose and the Moone, levinge the Lion behind. Wherby this deponent went into the Primeros and there fownde the said William Browne, one of the quartermasters, verye sick togethur with his procontest, Bartillmew Stockfishe, and divers other of his acquentance. Wherin this examinant came home as a quartermaster with the said Browne and others. And seithe that, after ther cumminge from Binney towards England, manye of the mariners departid and died. Amongest whome the said

¹ State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth. PRO, SP 70/95, f. 255b. Abstract.

² Pacheco spells this place 'Lagea', and describes it as 'a huge rock [and] the best place for pepper along the whole of this coast' (*Esmeraldo*, bk. 2, ch. 3). Kimble suggests that it may be identified with Druta Rock.

³ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/9. Extract. Printed for the first time.

Browne, beinge verye sick, lienge on his deathe bedd, havinge before that at the first tyme of his sicknes made and ordeynid his testament, declarid, gave and bequethid *de auditu et intellectu huius deponentis*, lienge nere unto the said Browne, to his brother, the said Petur Patterell, his wages, dew unto him for his service and labor don in the said shipp, with his chest and other thinges, which he had before cawsid to be writton in his testament, as he then confessid; desiringe John Bouche, John Philipps and Francis Sawyer, mariners with this deponent in the said shipp then and there presente with the said Browne, with other moe, to see his said wages and other things mentionid in his testament to be delyverid unto his said brother. Before whose deathe, certen bequethes of his apparrell and other things, gevon to his cumpanye, were don(?) and gevon by one Swallowe, a gonner, who toke an inventarye of all suche things as the said Browne had in the same shipp. And after that he departid and died. [Moreover], abowte myd sommer last, this deponent, the said Stockfishe, and the rest of the mariners that came on lyve into England, came unto Sir George Barnes' howse before him, the said Mr. Garrard, Mr. Yorck and Francis Lambard. Where they beinge satisfied of ther wages, but not for so longe tyme as they servid, the fornamid Petur Patterell then before them requirid his brother's wages, then in ther hands remaininge to be satisfied unto him, accordnglye as his brother had gevon.

133. RICHARD EDEN'S ACCOUNT OF JOHN LOK'S VOYAGE TO MINA. 1554-5¹.

The second voyage to Guinea, set out by Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthonie Hickman and Edward Castelin in the yere 1554. The captaine whereof was M. John Lok.

AS in the first voiage I have declared rather the order of the history then the course of the navigation, whereof at that time I could have no perfect information, so in the description of this second voyage my chiefe intent hath bene

¹ Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, vi, 154-77. Hakluyt reproduced the account which had been printed in 1555 in the appendix to Richard Eden's *Decades of the New World*.

to shew the course of the same, according to the observation and ordinarie custome of the mariners, and as I received it at the handes of an expert pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who also with his owne hands wrote a briefe declaration of the same, as he found and tried all things, not by conjecture, but by the art of sayling and instruments pertaining to the mariners' facultie. Not therefore assuming to myselfe the commendations due unto other, neither so bold as in any part to change or otherwise dispose the order of this voyage, so well observed by art and experience, I have thought good to set forth the same, in such sort and phrase of speech as is commonly used among them, and as I received it of the said pilot, as I have said. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yeere of Our Lord 1554 the eleventh day of October, we departed the river of Thames with three goodly ships, the one called the Trinitie, a ship of the burden of seven-score tunne, the other called the Bartholomew, a ship of the burden of ninetie, the third was the John Evangelist, a ship of seven-score tunne. With the sayd ships and two pinnesses (whereof the one was drowned on the coast of England), we went forward on our voyage, and stayed at Dover fourteene dayes. We staid also at Rie three or foure dayes. Moreover, last of all we touched at Dartmouth.

Robert Gainsh was master of the John Evangelist.

The first day of November at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coast of England, we set off the Start, bearing south-west all that night in the sea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, untill the third day of the said moneth about noone, making our way good, did runne three-score leagues.

The 17 day in the morning, we had sight of the ile of Madera, which doth rise to him that commeth in the north-north-east part upright land in the west part of it, and very high; and to the south-south-east a low long land, and a long point with a saddle thorow the middest of it, standing in two and thirtie degrees¹; and in the west part many springs of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fieldes like unto corne fields, & some white houses to the south-east part of it,

The ile of Madera.

¹ Madeira is actually situated between latitudes 32° N. and 33° N.

and the toppe of the mountaine sheweth very ragged, if you may see it, and in the north-east part there is a bight or bay, as though it were a harborow. Also in the said part, there is a rocke a little distance from the shoare, and over the sayd bight you shall see a great gappe in the mountaine.

*The ile of
Palme.
Teneriffa.
The
Canaries.*

The 19 day at twelve of the clocke, we had sight of the isle of Palme and Teneriffa and the Canaries. The ile of Palme riseth round & lieth south-east and north-west, and the north-west part is lowest. In the south is a round hill over the headland, and another round hill above that in the land. There are betweene the south-east part of the ile of Madera & the north-west part of the ile of Palme seven and fifty leagues. This isle of Palme lieth in eight and twenty degrees¹. And our course from Madera to the ile of Palme was south and south and by west, so that we had sight of Teneriffa and of the Canaries. The south-east part of the ile of the Palme & the north-north-east of Teneriffa lie south-east and north-west, and betweene them are 20 leagues. Teneriffa and the Great Canary, called Gran Canaria, and the west part of Forteventura stande in seven and twenty degrees and a halfe². Gomera is a faire island but very ragged, & lieth west-south-west off Teneriffa. And whosoever wil come betweene them two ilands must come south and by east; and in the south part of Gomera is a towne and a good rode in the said part of the island; and it standeth in seven and twentie degrees and three terces. Teneriffa is an high land with a great high pike like a sugar loafe, and upon the said pike is snow throughout all the whole yeere. And by reason of that pike, it may be knowen above all other ilands; and there we were becalmed the twentieth day of November from sixe of the clocke in the morning untill foure of the clocke at afternoone.

*From
Madera
to the isle
of Palme.*

*Gran
Canaria.
Forteventura.
The island
of
Gomera.*

*Teneriffa.
Snow.*

*The coast
of Bar-
barie.
Cape
Blanke.*

The two and twentieth day of November, under the tropike of Cancer, the sunne goeth downe west and by south. Upon the coast of Barbarie, five and twentie leagues by north Cape Blanke, at three leagues off the maine, there are fifteene fadomes and good shelly ground, and sande among and no streames, and two small ilands standing in two and twentie degrees and a terce.

¹ Latitude 28° 45' N. runs through the centre of Palma.

From Gomera to Cape de las Barbas is an hundred leagues, and our course was south and by east. The said cape standeth in two and twentie and a halfe¹; and all that coast is flatte, sixteene or seventeene fadome deepe. Seven or eight leagues off from the river del Oro to Cape de las Barbas, there use many Spaniardes and Portugals to trade for fishing during the moneth of November; and all that coast is very low lands. Also we went from Cape de las Barbas south-south-west, and south-west and by south, till we brought ourselves in twentie degrees and a halfe, reckoning ourselves seven leagues off; and there were the least sholes of Cape Blanke.

*The river
del Oro.*

Then we went south, untill we brought ourselves in 13 degrees, reckoning ourselves five and twentie leagues off. And in 15 degrees we did reare the Crossiers [Southern Cross], and we might have reared them sooner, if we had looked for them. They are not right a crosse in the moneth of November, by reason that the nights are short there. Neverthelesse, we had the sight of them the 29 day of the said moneth at night.

*The
Crossiers
or crosse
stars.*

The first of December, being in 13 degrees, we set our course south and by east, untill the fourth day of December at 12 of the clocke the same day. Then we were in nine degrees and a terce, reckoning ourselves 30 leagues off the sholes of the river called Rio Grande, being west-south-west off them, the which sholes be 30 leagues long.

*Rio
Grande.*

The fourth of December, we beganne to set our course south-east, we being in sixe degrees and a halfe.

The ninth day of December, we set our course east-south-east. The fourteenth day of the sayde moneth, we set our course east, we being in five degrees and a halfe, reckoning ourselves thirty and sixe leagues from the coast of Guinea.

The nineteenth of the said moneth, we set our course east and by north, reckoning ourselves seventeene leagues distant from Cape Mensurado [Mesurado], the said cape being east-north-east of us, and the river of Sesto being east.

*Cape
Mensurado.
The river
of Sesto.*

The one and twentieth day of the said moneth, we fell with Cape Mensurado to the south-east about two leagues off. This cape may be easily knowen by reason y^t the rising of it is like a

¹ Cape Barbas is 22° 20' N.

porpose-head. Also toward the south-east there are three trees, whereof the eastermost tree is the highest and the middlemost is like a hie stacke & the southermost like unto a gibet. And upon the maine are foure or five high hilles, rising one after another like round hommocks or hillocks. And the south-east of the three trees brandiernwise; and all the coast along is white sand. The said cape standeth within a litle in sixe degrees¹.

The two and twentieth of December, we came to the river of Sesto, & remained there untill the nine and twentieth day of the said moneth. Here we thought it best to send before us the pinnesse to the river Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might have the beginning of the market, before the comming of the John Evangelist.

The river of Sesto. At the river of Sesto we had a tunne of graines. This river standeth in sixe degrees lacking a terce². From the river of Sesto to the Rio Dulce are five and twentie leagues. Rio Dulce standeth in five degrees and a halfe. The river of Sesto is easie to be knowen by reason there is a ledge of rockes on the south-east part of the rode. And at the entring into the haven are five or sixe trees that beare no leaves. This is a good harborow, but very narow at ye entrance into the river. There is also a rocke in the haven's mouth right as you enter. And all that coast betweene Cape de Monte [Cape Mount] and Cape de las Palmas lieth south-east & by east, north-west & by west, being three leagues off the shore. And you shal have in some places rocks two leagues off; and that betweene the river of Sesto and Cape de las Palmas.

Cape de Monte.

Cape de las Palmas.

The land of Cakeado. Betweene the river of Sesto and the river Dulce are five and twentie leagues, & the high land that is betweene them both is called Cakeado, being eight leagues from the river of Sesto. And to the southeastwarde of it is a place called Shawgro, and another called Shyawe, or Shauo, where you may get fresh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rockes, and to the southeastward lieth a hedland called Croke. Betweene Cakeado and Croke are nine or ten leagues. To the southeastward off is a harborow called S. Vincent [Grand Butu]; right over against S. Vincent is a rocke under the water, two leagues & a halfe off the shore. To

Shauo.

Croke.

S. Vincent's harborow.

¹ Cape Mesurado is 6° 91' N.

² Actually Sestos Point is 5° 26' N.

the southeastward of that rocke you shal see an island about three or four leagues off; this island is not past a league off the shore. To the east-south-east of the island is a rocke that lieth above the water, and by that rocke goeth in the river Dulce, which you shall know by the said river and rocke. The north-west side of the haven is flat sand, and the south-east side thereof is like an island and a bare plot without any trees, and so is it not in any other place.

*The river
Dulce.*

In the rode you shall ride in thirteene or foureteene fadomes, good oaze [*i.e.* ooze, soft mud] and sand, being the markes of the rode to bring the island and the north-east land together, and here we ankered the last of December.

The third day of Januarie, we came from the river Dulce.

Note that Cape de las Palmas is a faire high land, but some low places thereof by the waterside looke like red cliffes with white strakes, like hiewayes, a cable length a piece, and this is the east part of the cape. This cape is the southermost land in all the coast of Guinea, and standeth in foure degrees and a terce¹.

*Cape de
las
Palmas.*

*The coast
of Guinea.*

The coast from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepontes, or de Tres Puntas, is faire & cleare without rocke or other danger.

Twentie and five leagues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place untill we come to Cape Trepontes. And about ten leagues before you come to Cape Trepontes, the land riseth still higher and higher, untill you come to Cape Trepontes. Also before you come to the said cape, after other 5 leagues to the north-west part of it, there is a certaine broken ground with two great rockes, and within them in the bight of a bay is a castle called Arra², pertaineing to the King of Portugall. You shall know it by the said rockes that lie off it; for there is none such from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepontes. This coast lieth east and by north, west and by south. From Cape de las Palmas to the said castle is foure-score and fiteene leagues. And the coast lieth from the said castle to the westermost point of Trepoyntes south-east and by south, north-west and by

*The
castle of
Arra.*

¹ Cape Palmas is 4° 22' N.

² Axim. The spelling suggests Accra, but Eden's informant must have confused the names.

north. Also the westernmost point of Trepoyntes is a low lande, lying halfe a mile out in the sea; and upon the innermost necke to the landward is a tuft of trees, and there we arrived the eleventh day of January.

The towne of Samma. The 12 day of January, we came to a towne called Samma, or Samva, being 8 leagues from Cape Trepointes toward east-north-east. Betweene Cape Trepointes and the towne of Samva is a great ledge of rockes a great way out in the sea. We continued foure dayes at that towne, and the captaine thereof would needs have a pledge ashore¹. But when they received the pledge, they kept him still, and would traffike no more, but shot off their ordinance at us. They have two or three pieces of ordinance and no more².

The pledge was Sir John Yorke his nephew. The sixteenth day of the said month, we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea [Queen Anne Point], where captaine don John dwelleth, whose men entertained us friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues eastwarde of the castle of Mina, otherwise called La Mina, or Castello de Mina, where we arrived the 18 day of the moneth. Here we made sale of all our cloth, saving two or three packes.

Cape Corea. The 26 day of the same moneth, we weighed anker and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was seven leagues eastward of us, where she solde her wares. Then they of the Trinitie willed us to go eastward of that, eight or nine leagues, to sell part of their wares in a place called Percow, and another place named Percow Grande [Barracoe?], being the easternmost place of both these, which you shal know by a great round hill neere unto it, named Monte Rodondo, lying westward from it, and by the waterside are many high palme trees. From hence did we set forth homeward the thirteenth day of February, & plied up amongst till we came within seven or eight leagues to Cape Trepointes. About eight of the clocke the 15 day at after-noone, wee did cast about to seaward; and beware of the currants for they will deceive you sore. Whosoever shall come from the coast of Mina homeward, let him be sure to make his way

*Percow.
Percow
Grand.*

*Monte
Rodondo.*

*The
currants.*

*From
Mina
home-
ward.*

¹ Martin Frobisher. See *EHR* (1917), xxxii, 89-92.

² This is the earliest known evidence of the fact that the Portuguese had a fortified post at Samma.

good west, untill he reckon himselfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the currant setteth alwayes to the eastward. And within twentie leagues eastward of Cape de las Palmas is a river called De los Potos, where you may have fresh water and balast enough, and plenty of ivory or elephants' teeth. This river standeth in foure degrees and almost two terces. And when you reckon yourselfe as farre shot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a halfe, you may go west and west by north, untill you come in three degrees; and then you may go west-north-west, and north-west and by west, untill you come in five degrees, and then north-west. And in sixe degrees we met northerly windes and great ruffling of tides. And as we could judge, the currants went to the north-north-west. Furthermore, betweene Cape de Monte and Cape Verde, go great currants, which deceive many men.

*Rios de
los Potos*

Ivory.

*Cabo de
las
Palmas.*

Currants

The 22 day of Aprill, we were in 8 degrees and two terces; and so we ran to the north-west, having the winde at north-east and east-north-east, and sometimes at east, untill we were at 18 degrees and a terce, which was on Mayday. And so from 18 and two terces, we had the winde at east and east-north-east, and sometimes at east-south-east; and then we reckoned the islands of Cape Verde east-south-east of us, we judging ourselves to be 48 leagues off. And in 20 and 21 degrees, we had the winde more easterly to the southward then before. And so we ran to the north-west and north-north-west, and sometimes north and by west and north, untill we came into 31 degrees, where we reckoned ourselves a hundred and foure-score leagues south-west and by south of the island de los Flores, and there wee met with the winde at south-south-east, and set our course north-east.

*The ile de
Flores.*

In 23 degrees we had the winde at the south and south-west, and then we set our course north-north-east, and so we ran to 40 degrees, and then we set our course north-east, the winde being at the south-west, and having the isle de Flores east of us and 17 leagues off.

In the 41 degrees we met with the winde at north-east, and so we ran north-westward; then we met with the winde west-north-west, and at the west within 6 leagues, running toward

*The ile of
Corvo.*

the north-west, and then we cast about and lay north-east, untill we came in 42 degrees, where we set our course east-north-east, judging the ile of Corvo south and by west of us and sixe and thirtie leagues distant from us.

A remembrance, that, the 21 day of May, we communed with John Rafe, and he thought it best to goe north-east, and judged himselfe 25 leagues eastward to the isle de Flores and in 39 degrees and a halfe.

*Where
they lost
the sight
of the
north
starre.
How the
compasse
doeth
varie.*

Note that, on the fourth day of September, under nine degrees, we lost the sight of the north starre.

Note also that, in 45 degrees, the compasse is varied 8 degrees to the west.

Item. In 40 degrees the compasse did varie 15 degrees in the whole.

Item. In 30 degrees and a halfe the compasse is varied 5 degrees to the west.

Be it also in memory that, two or three daies before we came to Cape de 3 Puntas, the pinnesse went alongst the shore, thinking to sell some of our wares, and so we came to anker three or foure leagues west and by south of the Cape de 3 Puntas, where we left the Trinitie.

*The
Primrose.*

Then our pinnesse came aboard with all our men, the pinnesse also tooke in more wares. They told me, moreover, that they would goe to a place, where the Primrose was and had received much gold at the first voyage to these parties, and tolde me, furthermore, that it was a good place. But I, fearing a brigantine that was then upon the coast, did wey and follow them, and left the Trinitie about foure leagues off from us; and there we rode against that towne foure dayes; so that Martine¹, by his owne desire and assent of some of the commissioners that were in the pinnesse, went ashoare to the towne, and there John Berin went to trafique from us, being three miles off, trafiquing at another towne. The towne is called Samma, or Samva, for Samma and Sammaterra are the names of the two first townes, where we did trafique for gold, to the north-east of Cape de 3 Puntas.

*The towne
of
Samma.
Golde.*

Hitherto continueth the course of the voyage, as it was described by the sayde pilot. Nowe, therefore, I will speake some-

¹ Martin Frobisher.

what of the countrey and people and of such things as are brought from thence.

They brought from thence at the last voiage foure hundred pound weight and odde of gold, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in finenesse; also sixe and thirtie butts of graines¹, & about two hundred and fifty elephants' teeth of all quantities. Of these I saw & measured some of nine spans in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a man's thigh above the knee, and weyed about foure-score and ten pound weight a peece. They say that some one hath bin seene of an hundred and five & twentie pound weight. Other there were, which they call the teeth of calves of one or two or three yeeres, whereof some were a foot and a halfe, some two foot, and some 3 or more, according to ye age of the beast. These great teeth, or tusks, grow in the upper jaw downward, and not in the nether jaw upward, wherein the painters and arras workers are deceived. At this last voyage, was brought from Guinea the head of an elephant of such huge bignesse that onely the bones or cranew thereof, beside the nether jaw & great tusks, weighed about two hundred weight, and was as much as I could well lift from the ground; insomuch that, considering also herewith the weight of two such great teeth, the nether jaw with the lesse teeth, the tongue, the great hanging eares, the bigge & long snout or troonke, with all the flesh, braines, and skinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my judgement it could weigh litle lesse than five hundred weight. This head divers have seene in the house of the worthy marchant, Sir Andrew Judde², where also I saw it, and beheld it, not only with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my mind and spirit, considering by the worke the cunning and wisdom of the workemaister; without which consideration, the sight of such strange and wonderfull things may rather seeme curiosities then profitable contemplations.

The elephant (which some call an oliphant) is the biggest of

*Gold
foure
hundredth
weight.
Graines.
Elephants'
teeth.*

*The head
of an
elephant.*

*Sir
Andrew
Judde.
The con-
templations
of
God's
works.*

*The de-
scription*

¹ Grains of Paradise, or malagueta pepper.

² Sir Andrew Judd (born at Tonbridge c. 1510) was a prosperous London alderman and merchant, who interested himself in oversea trade and exploration.

*and prop-
erties of
the
elephant.*

all foure footed beasts, his forelegs are longer then his hinder, he hath ancles in the lower part of his hinder legges, and five toes on his feete undivided; his snout or tronke is so long and in such forme that it is to him in the stead of a hand, for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his tronke to his mouth, therewith he helpeth up his master or keeper, therewith he overthroweth trees. Beside his two great tusks, he hath on every side of his mouth foure teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meate; either of these teeth are almost a span in length, as they grow along in the jaw, and are about two inches in height and almost as much in thickness. The tuskes of the male are greater then of the female. His tongue is very litle, and so farre in his mouth that it cannot be seene. Of all beastes they are most gentle and tractable, for by many sundry wayes they are taught and doe understand; insomuch that they learne to doe due honor to a king and are of quicke sense and sharpnesse of wit. When the male hath once seasoned the female, he never after toucheth her. The male elephant liveth two hundred yeeres or at the least one hundred and twentie, the female almost as long; but the floure of their age is but three-score yeeres, as some write. They cannot suffer winter or cold; they love rivers and will often go into them up to the snout, wherewith they blow and snuffe, and play in the water; but swimme they cannot, for the weight of their bodies. Plinie and Soline write that they use none adulterie. If they happen to meete with a man in wilderness, being out of the way, gently they wil go before him & bring him into the plaine way. Joyned in battel, they have no small respect unto them that be wounded; for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended. They are made tame by drinking the juise of barley. They have continual warre against dragons, which desire their blood, because it is very cold; and therefore the dragon, lying awaite as the elephant passeth by, windeth his taile (being of exceeding length) about the hinder legs of the elephant, & so staying him, thrusteth his head into his tronke and exhausteth his breath, or else biteth him in the eare, wherunto he cannot reach with his tronke; and, when the elephant waxeth faint, he falleth downe on the serpent, being now full of

*Debate
betweene
the
elephant
& the
dragon.*

blood, and with the poise of his body breaketh him; so that his owne blood with the blood of the elephant runneth out of him mingled together, which, being colde, is congealed into that substance which the apothecaries call *sanguis draconis*, (that is) dragons' blood, otherwise called *cinnabaris*, although there be another kinde of *cinnabaris*, commonly called *cinoper*, or *vermilion*, which the painters use in certaine colours.

*Sanguis draconis.
Cinnabaris.*

They are also of three kinds, as of the marshes, the plaines and the mountaines, no lesse differing in conditions. *Philostratus* writeth that as much as the elephant of *Libya* in bignes passeth the horse of *Nysea*, so much doe the elephants of *India* exceed them of *Libya*; for the elephants of *India*, some have bene seene of the height of nine cubits; the other do so greatly feare these that they dare not abide the sight of them. Of the *Indian* elephants onely the males have tuskes, but of them of *Ethiopia* and *Libya* both kindes are tusked; they are of divers heights, as of twelve, thirteene, and fourteene *dodrants*, every *dodrant* being a measure of nine inches. Some write that an elephant is bigger then three wilde oxen or buffes. They of *India* are black, or of ye colour of a mouse, but they of *Ethiopia* or *Guinea* are browne. The hide or skinne of them all is very hard and without haire or bristles. Their eares are two *dodrants* broad and their eyes very litle. Our men saw one drinking at a river in *Guinea*, as they sailed into the land.

Three kinds of elephants.

Of other properties & conditions of the elephant, as of their marveilous docilitie, of their fight and use in the warres, of their generation and chastitie, when they were first seene in the theaters and triumphes of the *Romanes*, how they are taken & tamed, and when they cast their tusks, with the use of the same in medicine, who so desireth to know, let him reade *Plinie* in the eight booke of his naturall history. He also writeth in his twelfth booke that in olde time they made many goodly workes of ivory or elephants' teeth, as tables, tressels, postes of houses, railes, lattesses for windowes, images of their gods, and divers other things of ivory, both coloured and uncoloured, and intermixt with sundry kindes of precious woods, as at this day are made certaine chaires, lutes and virginals. They had such plenty thereof in olde time that (as far as I remember) *Josephus* writeth that

Workes of ivory.

one of the gates of Hierusalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Ivory Gate. The whitenesse thereof was so much esteemed that it was thought to represent the natural fairenesse of mans' skinne; insomuch that such as went about to set foorth (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reprov'd by this proverbe, 'Ebur atramente candefacere,' that is, 'To make ivory white with inke.' The poets also, describing the faire necks of beautifull virgins, call them eburnea colla, that is, ivory necks. And to have said thus much of elephants and ivory, it may suffice.

*The
people of
Africa.*

Now, therefore, I will speake somewhat of the people and their maners, and maner of living, with another briefe description of Africa also. It is to be understood that the people, which now inhabite the regions of the coast of Guinea and the midle parts of Africa, as Libya the Inner, and Nubia, with divers other great & large regions about the same, were in old time called Æthiopes and Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beastly living, without a God, lawe, religion, or commonwealth, and so scorched and vexed with the heat of the sunne that in many places they curse it, when it riseth. Of the regions and people about the Inner Libya (called Libya Interior) Gemma Phrysius writeth thus.

*Libya In-
terior.*

Libya Interior is very large and desolate, in the which are many horrible wildernesses & mountaines, replenished with divers kinds of wilde and monstrous beastes and serpents. First

Getulia.

from Mauritania or Barbary toward the south is Getulia, a rough and savage region, whose inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After these follow the people called Melanogetuli and Pharusii, which wander in the wilderness, carrying

*Æthiopes.
Nigritæ.*

with them great gourdes of water. The Ethiopians, called Nigritæ, occupy a great part of Africa, and are extended to the west ocean. Southward also they reach to the river Nigritis, whose nature agreeth with the river of Nilus, forasmuch as it is increased and diminished at the same time, and bringeth forth the

*The river
Nigritis or
Senega.*

like beastes as the crocodile. By reason whereof I thinke this to be the same river, which the Portugals call Senega; for this river is also of the same nature. It is furthermore marvellous and very strange that is said of this river. And this is that, on the one side

*A strange
thing.*

thereof, the inhabitants are of high stature and black, and, on the other side, of browne or tawnie colour and low stature, which thing also our men confirme to be true.

There are also other people of Libya called Garamantes, whose women are common; for they contract no matrimonie, neither have respect to chastitie. After these are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sathiodaphnitæ, Odrangi, Mimaces, Lynxamatæ, Dolopes, Aganginæ, Leuci Ethiopes, Xilicei Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes and Nubi. These have the same situation in Ptolome that they now give to the kingdome of Nubia. Here are certaine christians under the dominion of the great Emperour of Æthiopia, called Prester John. From these toward the west is a great nation of people called Aphricerones, whose region (as farre as may be gathered by conjecture) is the same that is now called Regnum Orguene [Ogané], confining upon the east parts of Guinea. From hence westward and somewhat toward the north are the kingdoms of Gambia and Budomel, not farre from the river of Senega. And from hence toward the inland regions and along by the sea coast, are the regions of Ginoia or Guinea, which we commonly call Ginnee. On the west side of these regions toward the ocean, is the cape or point called Cabo Verde, or Caput Viride, (that is) the Greene Cape, to the which the Portugals first direct their course, when they saile to America or the land of Brasile. Then, departing from hence, they turne to the right hand toward the quarter of the winde called Garbino, which is betweene the west and the south. But to speake somewhat more of Æthiopia: although there are many nations of people so named, yet is Aethiopia chiefly divided into two parts, whereof the one is called Aethiopia under Aegypt, a great & rich region. To this pertaineth the island Meroe, imbraced round about with the stremes of the river Nilus. In this island women reigned in old time. Josephus writeth that it was sometime called Sabea, and that the Queene of Saba came from thence to Jerusalem to heare the wisdom of Salomon. From hence toward the east reigneth the said christian Emperour Prester John, whom some cal Papa Johannes & other say that he is called Pean Juan (that is) Great John, whose empire reacheth far beyond Nilus and is extended

Garamantes.

People of Libya.

Prester John.

Regnum Orguene. Gambia.

Guinea.

Cabo Verde. The Portugals' navigation to Brasile.

Aethiopia.

The island of Meroe.

The Queene of Saba. Prester John,

Emperour of Aethiopia. People of the east side of Africa. to the coasts of the Red Sea & Indian Sea. The middle of the region is almost in 66 degrees of longitude and 12 degrees of latitude. About this region inhabite the people called Clodi, Risophagi, Babylonii, Axiunitæ, Molili and Molibæ. After these is the region called Troglodytica, whose inhabitants dwel in caves and dennes; for these are their houses, & the flesh of serpents their meat, as writeth Plinie and Diodorus Siculus. They have no speach but rather a grinning and chattering. There are also people without heads called Blemines, having their eyes and mouth in their breast. Likewise Strucophagi and naked Ganphasantes; Satyrs also, which have nothing of men but onely shape. Moreover Oripei, great hunters. Mennonnes also, and the region of Smyrnophora, which bringeth fourth myrrhe. After these is the region of Azania, in the which many elephants are found. A great part of the other regions of Africke, that are beyond the æquinocctiall line, are now ascribed to the kingdome of Melinde, whose inhabitants are accustomed to trafique with the nations of Arabia, and their king is joyned in friendship with the King of Portugal and payeth tribute to Prester John.

Myrrh. Azania.

Regnum Melinde.

Aethiopia Interior. The other Ethiope, called Æthiopia Interior (that is) the Inner Ethiope, is not yet knowne for the greatnesse thereof, but onely by the sea coastes. Yet is it described in this maner. First from the æquinocctiall toward ye south is a great region of Aethiopiens, which bringeth forth white elephants, tygers and the beastes called rhinocerotes. Also a region that bringeth fourth plenty of cynamome, lying betweene the branches of Nilus. Also the kingdome of Habech, or Habasia, a region of christian men, lying both on this side and beyond Nilus. Here are also the Aethiopiens, called Ichthiophagi (that is) such as live onely by fish, and were sometimes subdued by the warres of great Alexander. Furthermore, the Aethiopiens, called Rhapsii & Anthropophagi, y^t are accustomed to eat mans' flesh, inhabite the regions neere unto the mountains, called Montes Lunæ (that is) the mountaines of the moone. Gazatia is under the tropike of capricorne. After this followeth the front of Afrike, the Cape of Buena Speranza, or Caput Bonæ Spei, that is, the cape of good hope, by the which they passe that saile from Lisbon to Calicut. But by what names the capes and

White elephants.

Habasia.

Ichthiophagi.

Anthropophagi.

Montes Lunæ.

Gazatia.

Cap. Bonæ Spei.

gulfes are called, forasmuch as the same are in every globe and card, it were here superfluous to rehearse them.

Some write that Africa was so named by the Grecians, because it is without colde. For the Greeke letter Alpha or A signifieth privation, voyd, or without, and 'phrice' signifieth colde. For, indeed, although in the stead of winter they have a cloudy and tempestuous season, yet is it not colde, but rather smothering hote with hote showres of raine also, and somewhere such scorching windes that, what by one meanes and other, they seeme at certaine times to live, as it were, in fornaces, and in maner already halfeway in purgatorie or hell. Gemma Phrisius writeth that in certaine parts of Africa, as in Atlas the greater, the aire in the night season is seene shining, with many strange fires and flames rising in maner as high as the moone; and that in the element are sometime heard, as it were, the sound of pipes, trumpets and drummes; which noises may perhaps be caused by the vehement and sundry motions of such fire exhalations in the aire, as we see the like in many experiences, wrought by fire, aire and winde. The hollownesse also, and divers reflexions and breaking of the cloudes, may be great causes hereof, beside the vehement colde of the middle region of the aire, whereby the said fiery exhalations, ascending thither, are suddenly stricken backe with great force. For even common and dayly experience teacheth us, by the whissing of a burning torch, what noise fire maketh in the aire, and much more where it striveth, when it is inclosed with aire, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is seene in onely aire inclosed, as in organ pipes and such other instruments that go by winde. For winde (as say the philosophers) is none other than aire vehemently moved, as we see in a paire of bellowes and such other.

Some of our men of good credit, that were in this last voiage to Guinea, affirme earnestly that in the night season they felt a sensible heat to come from the beames of the moone. The which thing, although it be strange and insensible to us that inhabite cold regions, yet doeth it stand with good reason that it may so be, forasmuch as the nature of starres and planets (as writeth Plinie) consisteth of fire, and conteineth in it a spirit of life, which cannot be without heat.

*Africa
without
colde.*

*The
winter of
Africa.*

*Flames of
fire and
noise in
the aire.*

*The
middle
region of
the aire is
cold.*

*The strife
of ele-
ments.
Winde.*

*The heate
of the
moone.*

*The
nature of
the
starres.*

And that the moone giveth heate upon the earth the prophet David seemeth to confirme in his 121 Psalme, where, speaking of such men as are defended from evils by God's protection, hee saith thus: 'Per diem sol non exuret te, nec luna per noctem,' that is to say, 'In the day the sunne shall not burne thee, nor the moone by night.'

*Spoutes
of water
falling out
of the
aire.*

*Cataracts
of
heaven.*

*Vehement
motions in
the sea.*

*A strange
thing.*

*The
power of
nature.*

They say furthermore that in certaine places of the sea they saw certaine streames of water, which they call spouts, falling out of the aire into the sea, & that some of these are as bigge as the great pillars of churches; insomuch that sometimes they fall into shippes, and put them in great danger of drowning. Some faine that these should be the cataracts of heaven, which were all opened at Noe's floud. But I thinke them rather to be such fluxions and eruptions as Aristotle, in his booke de Mundo, saith to chance in the sea. For, speaking of such strange things as are seene oftentimes in the sea, he writeth thus: 'Oftentimes also even in the sea are seene evaporations of fire, and such eruptions and breaking foorth of springs, that the mouthes of rivers are opened. Whirlepooles and fluxions are caused of such other vehement motions, not only in the midst of the sea, but also in creeks & streights. At certaine times, also, a great quantity of water is suddenly lifted up and carried about with the moone, &c.' By which wordes of Aristotle, it doth appeare that such waters be lifted up in one place at one time, and suddenly fall downe in another place at another time. And hereunto perhaps pertaineth it that Richard Chancellor told me that he heard Sebastian Cabot report that (as farre as I remember), either about the coasts of Brasile or Rio de Plata, his shippe or pinnesse was suddenly lifted from the sea and cast upon land, I wot not howe farre. The which thing, and such other like wonderfull and strange workes of nature, while I consider, and call to remembrance the narrownesse of mans' understanding and knowledge, in comparison of her mightie power, I can but cease to marvell and confesse with Plinie that nothing is to her impossible, the least part of whose power is not yet knowen to men. Many things more our men saw and considered in this voyage, woorthy to be noted, whereof I have thought good to put some in memory, that the reader may as well take pleasure

in the variety of things, as knowledge of the historie. Among other things, therefore, touching the maners and nature of the people, this may seeme strange, that their princes & noblemen use to pounce and rase their skinnes with pretie knots in divers formes, as it were branched damaske, thinking that to be a decent ornament. And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, & especialy their women, in maner laden with collars, bracelets, hoopes and chaines, either of gold, copper, or ivory. I myselfe have one of their braslets of ivory, weighing two pound and sixe ounces of troy weight, which make eight and thirtie ounces. This one of their women did weare upon her arme. It is made of one whole piece of the biggest part of the tooth, turned and somewhat carved, with a hole in the midst, wherin they put their hands to weare it on their arme. Some have on every arme one, and as many on their legges, wherewith some of them are so galled that, although they are in maner made lame thereby, yet will they by no meanes leave them off. Some weare also on their legges great shackles of bright copper, which they thinke to bee no lesse comely. They weare also collars, bracelets, garlands and girdles, of certain blew stones like beads. Likewise, some of their women weare on their bare armes certaine foresleeves made of the plates of beaten golde. On their fingers also they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or wreath, like unto that which children make in a ring of a rush. Among other things of golde, that our men bought of them for exchange of their wares, were certaine dog-chaines and collers.

*They
rase their
skinnes.*

*Fine
jewels.*

*A brace-
let.*

Shackles.

Rings.

*Dogs'
chaines of
golde.*

They are very wary people in their bargaining, and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They use weights and measures, and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall have to doe with them, must use them gently; for they will not trafique or bring in any wares, if they be evill used. At the first voyage, that our men had into these parties, it so chanced that, at their departure from the first place where they did traffick, one of them either stole a muske-cat, or tooke her away by force, not mistrusting that that should have hindered their bargaining in another place whither they intended to goe. But for all the haste they could make with full sailes, the fame

*A muske-
cat.*

of their misusage so prevented them that the people of that place also, offended thereby, would bring in no wares; inso-much that they were inforced either to restore the cat, or pay for her at their price, before they could trafique there.

Their houses.

Their houses are made of foure postes or trees, and covered with boughes.

Their feeding.

Their common feeding is of roots & such fishes as they take, whereof they have great plenty.

Flying fishes.

There are also such flying fishes as are scene in the sea of the West Indies. Our men salted of their fishes, hoping to provide store thereof; but they would take no salt, and must therefore be eaten forthwith, as some say. Howbeit, other affirme that, if they be salted immediatly after they be taken, they will last uncorrupted ten or twelve dayes. But this is more strange, that part of such flesh as they caried with them out of England, which putrified there, became sweete againe at their returne to the clime of temperate regions.

A strange thing.

Their bread.

They use also a strange making of bread in this maner. They grinde betweene two stones with their handes as much corne as they thinke may suffice their family, and, when they have thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantitie of water, and make thereof very thinne dough, which they sticke upon some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heate of the sunne. So that, when the master of the house, or any of his family, will eate thereof, they take it downe and eate it.

Their wheat.

They have very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two handfuls in length and as bigge as a great bulrush, and almost foure inches about where it is biggest. The stemme, or straw, seemeth to be almost as bigge as the litle finger of a man's hand, or litle lesse. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peason, round also, and very white, and somewhat shining, like pearles that have lost their colour. Almost all the substance of them turneth into floure, & maketh litle bran or none. I told in one eare two hundred & three-score graines. The eare is inclosed in three blades, longer then itselfe & of two inches broad apiece.

The sunne.

And by this fruitfulness the sunne seemeth partly to recompence such griefes and molestations as they otherwise receive by the fervent heate thereof. It is doubtlesse a worthy contemplation

to consider the contrary effects of the sunne, or rather the contrary passions of such things as receive the influence of his beames either to their hurt or benefit. Their drinke is either water, or the juise that droppeth from the cut branches of the barren date trees, called palmitos. For either they hang great gourdes at the said branches every evening and let them so hang all night, or else they set them on the ground under the trees that the droppes may fall therein. They say that this kinde of drinke is in taste much like unto whey, but somewhat sweeter and more pleasant. They cut the branches every evening, because they are seared up in the day by the heate of the sunne. They have also great beanes as bigge as chestnuts and very hard, with a shell in the stead of a huske.

*Their
drinke.*

Many things more might be saide of the maners of the people, and of the wonders and monstrous things that are engendred in Africke. But it shall suffice to have saide thus much of such things as our men partly sawe and partly brought with them.

And whereas, before speaking of the fruit of graines, I described the same to have holes by the side (as indeede it hath, as it is brought hither), yet was I afterward enfourmed that those holes were made to put stringes or twigges through the fruite, thereby to hang them up to dry at the sunne. They grow not past a foote and a halfe, or two foote, from the ground, and are as red as blood when they are gathered. The graines themselves are called of the phisicians grana paradisi.

Graines

At their comming home, the keeles of their shippes were marveilously overgrowne with certaine shelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they could stand, and of such bignesse that a man might put his thumbe in the mouthes of them. They certainly affirme that in these there groweth a certaine slimie substance, which at the length, slipping out of the shell and falling in the sea, becommeth those foules which we call barnacles. The like shelles have bene seene in ships returning from Iseland, but these shels were not past halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I sawe the Primerose, lying in the docke and in maner covered with the said shels, which in my judgement should greatly hinder her sayling. Their ships were also in many places eaten with the wormes,

*Shels
that
cleave to
ships.*

Barnack

Bromas. called bromas or bissas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. These creepe betweene the plankes, which they eate through in many places.

A secret. Among other things that chanced to them in this voyage, this is worthy to be noted: that wheras they sailed thither in seven weekes, they could returne in no lesse space then twentie weekes. The cause whereof they say to be this: that about the coast of Cabo Verde the winde is ever at the east, by reason whereof they were enforced to saile farre out of their course into the maine ocean to finde the winde at the west to bring them home. There died of our men at this last voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the clime of the colde regions, as betweene the islands of Azores and England. They brought with them certaine blacke slaves, whereof some were tall and strong men and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes. The colde and moyst aire doth somewhat offend them. Yet doubtlesse men, that are borne in hot regions, may better abide colde then men, that are borne in colde regions, may abide heate; forasmuch as vehement heate resolveth the radicall moysture of mens' bodies, as colde constraineth and preserveth the same.

The death of our men.

Five blacke Moores brought into England.

Colde may be better abiden then heate.

This is also to be considered as a secret worke of nature that, throughout all Africke under the æquinocstial line and neere about the same on both sides, the regions are extreeme hote and the people very blacke. Whereas, contrarily, such regions of the West Indies as are under the same line are very temperate, and the people neither blacke nor with curlde and short wooll on their heads, as many of Africke have, but of the colour of an olive, with long and blacke heare on their heads. The cause of which variety is declared in divers places in the Decades.

It is also worthy to be noted that some of them that were at this voyage told me: that is, that they overtooke the course of the sunne, so that they had it north from them at noone, the 14 day of March¹. And to have said thus much of these voyages, it may suffice.

¹ The sun would have been practically over the equator on 14/24 March 1555. Lok's ships, on the homeward voyage, must have turned southwards away from the coast to take advantage of the westerly equatorial current and in order to avoid the easterly Guinea current.

134. VOYAGE OF THE *Grace of God* TO BARBARY IN 1555.
 CHARTER-PARTY BETWEEN THE SHIP-OWNER AND THE
 MERCHANTS. 5 MARCH 1555¹.

In the name of God, Amen. This chartre-partie indented of afreightment, made bytwene John Hopkyns², citezen and fyshe-monger of London, owner of a shyp of London called the Grace of God of London, at this present beyng in the ryver of Thamyse within the port of London, and John Sandye of Harwyche in the countie of Essex, maryner, master under God of the same shyp for this present vyage, on the one partie, and Sir Thomas White³, knyght alderman of the citie of London, Sir John Yorke, knyght of the same citie, Thomas Lodge, alderman of the same citie, Thomas Bond, mercer, Alexander Coles, mercer, Arthure Dawbeney, merchaunt taillor, Richard Lambard, grocer, Fraunces Bowyer, grocer, Edmond Jakman, grocer, John Gardener, grocer, and Walter Yonge, merchaunt taillor, Robart Essyngton, letherseller, citezens and merchauntes of London, and the said John Hopkyns, on the other partie, witenessithe that the said owner and master have graunted and letten to freight the said ship unto the said merchauntes. And that the same merchauntes have hyred the sayd shyp for a vyage withe her to be made by Goddes grace in maner and forme following, that is to saye: the said owner and master covenaunten and graunten by thies presentes well and truly to receyve or cause to be receyved into the said shipp all soche goodes, wares and merchandizes of the said merchauntes as they, theyr factours or assignes, will chardge and lade in her before her departure (not extendyng above theyr severall coplementes) fre of freight. And that the said ship withe the fyrst good wynde and wether that God shall send next after the date of thies presentes shall dyrectly sayle from hence to Saphia [Safi] in the parties of

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Libels. PRO, HCA 24/25, no. 27. Printed for the first time.

² John Hopkins was a very prominent London merchant, who traded with Antwerp, Spain and Barbary. References to his activities may be found in PRO, HCA 13/5. 28 May 1548; HCA 13/12. 25 May 1559.

³ Sir Thomas White (1492-1567) became Lord Mayor of London in 1553 and was one of the promoters of the Muscovy Company.

Barbaria, as nighe the same towne as she maye sauffy comme to dyscharge parte of her ladyng, and there shall tary and abyde by the space of xvj daies next ensuyng after her fyrst arryving there at an anchor to dyscharge and recharge. And frome thence withe wynde and wether therunto moste apt and convenyent shall dyrectly sayle to Capa de la Gara [Cape Ghir] in the said parties of Barbaria, as nyghe the same towne as she maye sauffy come to dyschardge the rest of her ladyng. And there shall tarye and abyde by the space of xliiij^{or} daies next ensuyng after her fyrst arryving there at an anchor to dyschardge and recharge. And it is agreed bytwene the sayd parties that, if the said shypp by the appoyntment of the said merchauntes or theyr factors do not tary at Saphia aforesaid duryng the sayd xvj dayes, that then the same ship shall tary and abyde the rest of the same xvj daies at the said porte of Capa de la Gara over and above the said xliiij^{or} daies for her before there appointed. And the said merchauntes covenanuten and graunten, and every of them for his owne part covenautyth and graunteth, by these presentes that they, theyr factors or assignes, shall charge and lade in and upon the sayd shipp within the tyme abovelymited theyr coplementes ensuyng, that is to saie: for the said Sir Thomas White vj tonnes, for the said Sir John Yorke tenne tonnes, for the said Thomas Bond and Alexander Coles twentie tonnes, for Arthure Dawbney xij tonnes, for the said Thomas Lodge, Rychard Lambard, Fraunces Bowyer and Edward Jackman iiij^{xx} tonnes, for the said John Gardener tenne tonnes, for the said Walter Yonge syx tonnes, for the said Robart Essyngton thre tonnes, and for the said John Hopkyns the rest of the full ladyng of the same shypp, reckonyng and alwaies accomptyng thre chiestes and an halfe of suger for a tonne, and every of the same chiestes to conteigne fyve fote and an halfe longe, and xviiij ynches square, foure hoggeshedes for a tonne, two buttes for a tonne, two pypes for a tonne, and twentie honndred wax of Englyshe weight for a tonne, pesterable wares alwaies except. Also it is agreed bytwene the said parties by thies presentes that, if enny of their chiestes of suger shall happen to be of greater syse then is aforemencioned, then the said owner to be answered freight for the same after the rate of the tonne hereafter specified. Also

it is agreed bitwene the sayd parties by thies presentes that, if enny of the merchantes caske shall be of greater syse then the ordynary gage of Spayne and Fraunce, then the said merchauntes to answer freight unto the said owner for the same accordyng to the rate of the tonne underwritten. Whiche shipp, so charged and laden, by Goddes grace wythe wynde and wether therunto moste apte and convenient shall dyrectly retorne, sayle and comme from thence unto the cawmbre¹ or porte of Dover in the countie of Kent, and there shall tarye and abide by the space of syx daies next ensuyng after her fyrst arryving there, within whiche syx daies the said master or maryners shall gyve knowledge to the said merchauntes, or theyr assignes, within the cite of London, that the said ship is arryved at the cawmbre or porte of Dovor aforesaid. And that then the said shipp withe the fyrst good wynde and wether, that God shall send next after the said syx daies, shall dyrectly saile and come frome thence unto the poorte of the cite of London, as nighe the same cite as she maye saufly come to her right dyscharge. And the said merchauntes covenaunten and graunten, and every of them for his owne part covenautyth and grauntyth, by thies presentes that they, theyr executours, admynistrators or assignes, shall well and truly paye or cause to be paid to the said owner and master, or theyr assignes, freight for every tonne of their said coplementes thre poundes of lafull monney of Eng- lond in maner and forme followyng, that is to saie: the one halfe therof at the right dyscharge of the same shyp within the said poort of London, and the other halfe therof within xiiij dayes next ensuyng after the right dyscharge of the same ship at Lon- don, and two ryalles and an halfe for avarege² of every tonne of theyr said coplementes at the sayd poorte of Capa de la Gara, of the value therof in current monney of the contrey there, and pety

¹ The 'camber' was the name given to that part of a dockyard where cambering was performed and timber kept, and, in the case of a royal dock- yard, to a small dock for loading and unloading timber (*OED*).

² 'Avarege', a word of uncertain derivation, was early used in connection with the maritime trade of the Mediterranean, and is now obsolete. Its mean- ing in this context is the charge, or expense, over and above the freight, incurred in the shipment of goods and payable by the owner. Cf. the modern term 'petty average', used in bills of lading.

lodmanage¹, prymage² and avaredge in the porte of London wont and accustomed after the use and custome of Englyshe shyppes. And the said owner and master covaunten and graunten, and also warraunten, by thies presentes that the said ship shall be stronge and staunche and well and suffyciently victualled, tacle and apparellled withe mastes, sayles, sayleyardes, anchors, cables, ropes, cordes, gonnnes, gonnepouder and shott, and all other munycions, artillary, takle and apparell, neadfull and necessarye for soche a ship and for soche a vyage, together with the said John Sandye for master, or some other hablemaster, xxxij maryners and two boyes, whiche maryners and boyes shall be redy at all tymes convenient with the cock or boat of the same ship to serve the said merchauntes, theyr factors or assignes, to and frome londe [land]. And if enny prize, purchase, floteson or langason³, or any other casualtie happen, or fortune to be taken in this present vyage, that then the said merchauntes to have their just partes therof, accordyng to the lawe of Olderon. And to the foresaid covauntes, grauntes, articles and all other thinges on eyther of the said parties abovesaid, truly to be holden, kept and performed in all thinges, as is abovesayd, the same parties bynde them, the one to the other, that is to saye: the foresaid owner and master, them, their heyres, executours, and goodes, and specially the ship aforesaid with the freight, takle and apparell of the same, unto the said merchauntes and to their executours, and the same merchauntes, them and every of them, by hymself and for his owne part, his executours and goodes, unto the said owner and master, and to theyr executours, in the some and penaltie of two hondreth poundes of lafull monney of Englund by the partie infrynging covenant to the partie observyng truly by thies presentes to be paid. In wytnes wherof the said parties to this chartre-partie

¹ 'Petty lodmanage.' Derived from O.E. *lōdmann*, a guide, it came to be associated in maritime affairs with pilotage. Its meaning here is the charge to be paid to the pilot for pilotage.

² 'Primage' (Med. Latin *primagium*) was the customary allowance formerly made by the shipper to the master and crew of a vessel for the loading and care of a cargo.

³ 'Flotsam' (Anglo-French *floteson*) was such part of a ship or its cargo as was found floating on the surface of the sea. 'Lagan,' possibly of Scandinavian origin, was goods or wreckage lying on the bed of the sea.

indented sonderly have set theyr sealles. Geven the fyveth daye of Marche in the yere of Our Lord God, after the course and computacion of the Church of Englonde, MV^cLIIII^{or}, and in the fyrst and seconde yerres of the reignes of oure soveraignes, Philip and Mary, by the grace of God Kyng and Qwiene of Englonde, Fraunce, Naples, Jerusalem and Yrelond, defenders of the faythe, Pryncesse of Spayne and Cicill [Sicily], archdukes of Austrie, dukes of Millayne, Burgundy and Brabant, erlles of Anspurge [Anspach], Flaunders and Tyroll¹.

135. THE *Grace of God* AT CAPE GHIR. JOHN TAYLOR, PURSER, CERTIFIES PART OF THE SHIP'S CARGO. CAPE GHIR. 26 MAY 1555².

Laus deo 1555 le 26 de May in Barbarye

Hath laden by the grace of God in safty by me, William Brownyng, for my master, John Gardener of London, grocer, here in y^e Play [Port. *plaga*, region or foreshore] of Capo de Guera, in and upon a good ship named the Grace of God of London, master under God for this presente viage John Sandy of Harwich, xiiij puncheons³ and xxvij hodgshedes [hogsheads] with dates, all under this marke in the margent, and be consygned to be delyvered well condishoned unto my master, John Gardener, or his assynges, at Londen, payeng for frayght and avereges as is speceffyd in the charter-partye, and for the good dellyverance of the goods aforsayd I, John Tayllor, purser of the good ship, have caused 3 bills to be made, all beyng of one tennor, one beyng complyed [completed], the other to stand void and of none effecte. Thus God send this good ship to hir ryght porte of discharge. Amen.

¹ At the end of this indenture, the seals of all the parties were at one time attached by pieces of parchment passed through holes, which had been made along the bottom edge. The remains of only five of the original seals are still attached. Above each seal was the signature (or mark) of its owner.

² High Court of Admiralty, Libels. PRO, HCA 24/25, no. 25. Printed for the first time.

³ A puncheon (Fr. *poinçon*) was a large cask for liquids, fish, etc.

Well condyshon, as you say, all save one hoghe and one poncheon.

By me, John Tayllor¹.

136. RETURN OF THE *Grace of God* TO LONDON. ABSTRACT FROM THE DEPOSITION OF HENRY LUMNER. 3 NOVEMBER 1555².

Henry Lumner, examined in the high court of admiralty on 3 November 1555, answered that he was apprenticed to John Hopkins, a citizen and fishmonger of London and of the parish of Saint Michael in Crokyd Lane, with whom he had been for two years and a half, that before that he had lived at Sherington in Norfolk, where he was born, and that he was 26 years old. He stated that about two years past John Hopkyns had bought the said ship [the *Grace of God*] from a certain Cheaher (?) Franck and others of Sussex, and that he had then 'new buildid and erectid the same'. Lumner had known of the charter-party, 'wherby the said [John] Gardener toke X tonne ladinge in the same shipp'; but 'the same Gardener was desirous and very feyne wold have had XX^{tie} tonnes of ladings therin'. Lumner proceeded to depose that 'the said shipp, saylinge unto Le Garra [Cape Ghir] articulatid, and there receyvinge amongst other her ladinge X tonnes for the same Gardener, accordinge to the said chartre-partie, returnid and endid her voyadge prosperouslye here at London', where her cargo was unloaded. Gardener tried to avoid paying freight on two puncheons and two hogsheads of dates, which he registered under Edmund Jackman's name.

137. ENGLISH TRAFFIC TO BARBARY VIA SPAIN IN 1555. DEPOSITION OF EDMUND MAUSTEDGE. 30 JANUARY 1561³.

[Edmund Maustedge, of Taunton in Somerset, examined on

¹ Holograph signature. This certificate is of more than passing interest, for it is the earliest written instrument known to have been made by an Englishman in Africa.

² High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/10.

³ *Ibid.*, 13/13. Extract. Printed for the first time.

Thursday, 30 January 1560/1 before Doctor Lewis, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, stated] that in one of the monethes mentionid [*i.e.* between July 1555 and March 1556]¹ the same shipp callid the Gallion, apperteyninge unto Thomas Moore of Tanton, was appoyntid on a voyadge for Spayne. In wiche shipp this respondent passid and went as purser therof, beinge servant unto the said Moore. And seithe that at the arrivall of the said Gallion in the Bay of Cadiz, the forenamid Thomas Crowe, beinge then one of the mariners therof, requestid this respondent to doe away for him and to make sale of a pack of kerseys, then within borde the said Gallion, as he declarid, wiche he sent on land to this respondent. Who desirid this respondent to bringe over the money with him, cumminge of the sale of them. Wheren, to utter and doe them away this respondent promesid to doe his best, not knowinge of enye suche to be brought over in the said shipp untill her arryvall there. And seithe that uppon the dischargd therof the said shipp departid to St. Marye Porte [Puerto de Santa Maria] to lade. And because of busines, wiche this respondent had at that presente, he committid the sale and doinge away of those kerseis, beinge viij watchetts [*i.e.* pale or light blue kerseys], one white, and one redd, with ij wrappers of Redinge kerseys, to a frend of this respondent's, namid Dryver, then beinge in Cadiz, who utterid and did away nyne of the same after vij duckets the pece. And for those nyne, he made unto this respondent an accownte, and payed him the money for the same, and those ij wrappers sould for a ducket and a halfe the wrapper, wiche made Englishe money £19. 4s. 6d. And seithe that uppon the departure of the said Gallion, one Thomas Kithe, then in Cadiz, came unto this respondent and requirid the said pack of kerseis for and in the name of one Hawker, wiche was then in Barberye, to whome, as he declarid, the said kerseis belongid. Seinge that there came letteres over with the said kerseis from the same Hawker's brother, wiche wer sent unto him on land from the forenamid Thomas Crowe,

¹ A libel, containing the main points in dispute between Maustedge and Thomas Crowe, of Lyme Regis (Dorset), shows that the *Gallion* made this voyage to Spain between July 1555 and March 1556 (PRO, HCA 24/31, no. 47).

purportinge that the same kerseis were purposelye sent over unto the bovenamid Hawker in dischargd of certen malveseis [M.E. *malvesie*, malmsey], wiche he had sent over into England unto the said brother, whose doer and factor the said Kithe declarid to be¹, while Hawker was in Barbarye, and therefor he desirid the said kerseys. To whome this respondent declarid that those kerseis were committid and left with him by the said Crowe to be solde, wiche this respondent had promesid him to doe, and to bringe over the money unto him for the same. . . .

138. ABORTIVE PREPARATIONS IN LONDON FOR AN ENGLISH VOYAGE TO MINA. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, VENETIAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON, TO THE DOGE AND SENATE. LONDON. 16 DECEMBER 1555².

. . . The Portuguese ambassador³ has obtained the settlement desired by him with regard to his affair concerning the Guinea navigation. The queen, on hearing King Philip's opinion, gave orders for the vessels destined for that voyage, which were on the point of departure, having all their stores on board, to be disarmed and unloaded, much to the regret of those Londoners, who are concerned in this navigation, as they thus lose the opportunity for making great profits, in accordance with the experiment made by them; nor was it any use their offering hostages and sufficient security to the King of Portugal not to touch at any place on the African coast dependent on his majesty, nor to attend to anything but mere trade, as he pretends that it is all his and under his jurisdiction, although as yet he be not acknowledged in all the places of the coast, nor by all its inhabitants. They now, having already incurred the cost of fitting out the ships and purchasing goods, so much to their charge, earnestly request leave to make the voyage for this once.

¹ The clerk of the Admiralty Court seems to have omitted the word 'himself', and the phrase should read 'declarid himself to be'.

² *Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1555-6*, p. 284. Extract.

³ Lopes de Sousa, who had come to England early in 1555 to protest against English voyages to Guinea. See Williamson, p. 44.

139. COMPENSATION FOR THE DISAPPOINTED MERCHANTS.
DECEMBER 1555¹.

At Grenewiche, the xxxth of December, 1555.

. . . This daie Edwarde Castlyn, Jeffrey Allen, Rowland Fox and Richard Stockbridge, merchauntes, being sent hither by the lord maiour of London to understand the quenes majesties resolucion towching the voiage of the . . .², were in her heighnes's name willed to declare unto the rest of the merchauntes of that companye that her heighnes's pleasure is that, without proceeding any further in the said voiages, they do cause thier shippes to be brought to suche places as the wares, that theye have provided for Mina, not being vendible in any other place, maye be conveniently delivered where her majestie will gyve ordre the same shall be receyved at thier handes, and that they shall be recompensed for the same; and as for thier other charges, susteyned by thier preparacion for the said voiage, suche consideracion shall be had as shall be convenient.

140. THE CLAIM OF THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS TO PURSUE
FREE TRADE WITH GUINEA. 1555³.

A short declaracion of the merchauntes answer to the allegation of the ambassador of Portingall.

Where it hath ben alledged by the ambassadors of Portingall that certen English shippes have invaded and spoiled the countrie of Mina, being under the governaunce of the King of Portingall his viceroy and other lordes and princes under his obedyence; we, the merchauntes of the king and quenes majesties cite of London, do for declaracion of doinges from the begynnyng and for answer to the said allegacion saye as followith:

First we saye we be merchauntes, who by the commune usage of the worlde do use traficque in all places of the worlde

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1554-6*, p. 214. Extract.

² 'Mina' is inserted in the rough copy.

³ State Papers Foreign, Mary, PRO, SP 69/7, no. 449. Printed for the first time.

as well Asia and Africa as Europa, and have never ben re-
 streyned from resorte to anie place, doing there as we be ap-
 poynted by the auctoritie of the place wherunto we cumme. And
 following this our accustomed usage, we have of late resorted
 to sundry places, both towards the south and the north parties
 of the world, in both which we finde the governors and the
 people of the places well willing to receive us frindely and
 jently.

Amongest other places our factors did aboutes two yeares past
 resorte to sundrie places, where we found severall princes or
 governors and with them trafficqued, exchauncing merchan-
 dises for merchandises, and from them retorned quietly,
 thinking that without anie offence we might use there (where we
 found no resistaunce) the same libertie that we use and do find in
 all other places in the worlde.

After our retorne to England from that voyage, we prepared to
 send agen to the same countries, where we had ben before, to
 the entent we might more fullie understand the commodities of
 the countrey, and, being in a readynes to deperte, wer com-
 maunded by your lordshippis not to entre into anie place or
 countrey under the King of Portingalle's subjection or gover-
 naunce, nor to trafficque in his or any other prince's countrey,
 without the consent of the governors and rulers of the place,
 whereunto we shuld send or resorte. Which commaundement
 our factors have in all thinges kept and truley observed, neither
 offending anie subject of the King of Portingalles nor invading
 nor trobling anie of his countries or dominions. And for a more
 plaine declaracion thereof, our factors landed not in anie place
 where the said king had anie fortresse, towne, garrison or gover-
 naunce or anie officer or other person, that did forbid them.

They entred not into the land with anie force, but taried
 onelie in their shippes, abiding there the resorte of the people
 to them, who came to them in their shippes, bringing such com-
 modities as their contry had, with whom nevertheles our said
 factors refused to use anie traficque untill they wer infourmed
 by them that they wer no subjectes to the King of Portugall.

The said inhabitauntes of that country offred us and our said
 factors ground to builde uppon, if they wold make anie fort-

resses in their countrey, and further offred them assistaunce of certen slaves for those workes without anie charge.

Our said factors were also with one king in those parties, the prince of poure [power], whome they call the King of Byne [Benin], in whose country they might neither buye nor sell untill they had obtained the said kinges licence; for the obteyning whereof they resorted to his courte, obteyned his sauf conduct with much favour, and after frely and liberally trafficked there; and, finding such entreteigment as is aforesaid, they lefte behind them three merchantes, Inglishmen, to understand further of those countries and commodyties there, bringing with them also certen others of that country into England and promising to retorne thether agen within shorte tyme.

According to this promys, they begann to make provision in the begyning of this last somer, and, after that they had made somme parte of their provisions, wer agen commaunded from the king and quenes majesties to staye anie farther preparations, for that the said King of Portingall pretented himself wronged by these navigations, att which tyme (it was declared unto us by your lordshippes) the said ambassador of Portugall promised to shewe good proves within vi wekes or two monethes at the farthest.

We obeyed this second commaundment, and in the meane-time herde that out of Fraunce iij shippes were gonne to those contryes and two other shippes preparing also to go thetherwardes. Uppon knowledge whereof we, considering thatt the tyme apoynted by the said ambassador and declared to us by your lordshippes was past, and hering nothing of anie further proves, nor apparaunce of the King of Portingalles title, did contynue our first preparation, which before this thyrd and last commaundement was brought to such towardnes as, yf the same be nowe stayed, we shall remaine utterly undone.

Our humble suite, therfor, is that, seing that we beganne this voiage without malice, moved by the common fredome of all merchauntes, and have sithens that time obeyed all commaundementes, that your majesties wel be so graciouse unto us that we may enjoye the like libertie that the subjectes of Fraunce and other contries enjoye, from which libertie, yf we shuld be

restreined, besides our private grete losses all other your majesties subjects, occupieng merchandizes shold be so discouraged, finding themselves more restreyned or bond then other merchauntes of strange countries be.

And we do humbly offer to bind ourselves nether to entre into anie havon, porte, fortresse, towne or countrey under the obedience and governaunce of the said King of Portingall, nor to use anie violence or other molestacion agenst anie shipp or subject of his, ne yet to buye or sell in anie place without the good agreement and consent of the rulers and inhabitauntes of the countrey wherunto we shall resorte.

[*Endorsed*]. 1555.

The answer of the merchauntes
of London to the ambassador
of Portingall.

141. MARTIN FROBISHER'S REPORT ABOUT GUINEA, BASED UPON HIS EXPERIENCE WHILE A PRISONER AT MINA IN 1555. 27 MAY 1562¹.

27 Maii 1562

The declaracion of Martyne Frubishere, who was the first and second viages in the parties of Guinea and there remayned by the space of iij quarters of a yeare in the Castell of the Myne

First he saith assuredly that the King of Portingall hath no other castell, forte, or howse of traffique uppon the coastes bitwen Cape Verde and the kingdome of Binny, but onely one small forte at the Cape Trepontes, called Ashien [Axim], and one other XXth leagues beyond, called Castell de Mina².

Item. He saith that nonn of the people, other then suche as enhabite under the said forte and castell walls or within gon-

¹ State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, PRO, SP 70/37, no. 72. Printed for the first time. A transcript may be found in B.M., Lansdowne MS. 171, ff. 148-9.

² Frobisher here exaggerates the weakness of the Portuguese position in Guinea, taking no account of their forts and settlements in northern Guinea or of their 'strong house' at Samma. A contemporary criticised his declaration as absurd (B.M., Cotton MS. Nero B.1, f. 88b).

shott of the same, doo owe any obedience, neither be they at the Portingalis commaundement.

Item. That the Portingalls, that be withyn the said castells, or other that are enhabiting abowt the same, dare not goo one myle from the forte or castell to by any maner of victualls, nor dare ones attempt to trouble any that are disposed to bring any marchandiz to the coastes neare unto the said castells, except the said Portingalls doo by rewardes first obtayne favour of the rullers next adjoining to doo the same.

Item. He saith that, where the Englishe shipps and Frenche shipps doo accustomedly traffique in dyvers portes allong the coastes of Guynnea and the Myne, the Portingalls by no meanes dare attempt to traffique in any other place but onely at the said forte and castell.

Item. He saith that the said Portingalls be in suche daunger and subjection of the captens and governors of the contrey, bitwen the forte at Trepoynts and the Castell of the Myne, that they dare by no meanes passe themselves, nor cary thaire goodes, by land to and froo, but are forsed to passe and carie the same by sea, when any of thair shipps towche there, going to the Castell of the Myne.

Item. He saith that in the tyme that he was there, detteigned by the Portingalls the space of iij quarters of a yeare, thay were gladd sondry tymes to use hym to make dyvers jornayes to those, that dwelt a myle or two of from the said castell, to gett victualls, as goates, pultry, and other, for to supplye thair necessitie; for that thay themselves durst not, for perill of thair lyves, doo it.

Item. He saith that, at his being there, a capten, called Don Joan, dwelling in Futta [Fetu], within iij myles of the Castell of Myne, was required and promised great rewardes and stipendes by the King of Portingall's agient to bicomme under the obedience of the said king, and to ayde hym agenst other that would trate into those parties; who not onely refused to graunt any parte therof, but also made aunswer that he acconptid hymself to be his fellowe. And therefore by no meanes he would be restrayned of his libertie.

Item. He saith that the howses abowt the said forte and

castell, whiche be under the obedience of the King of Portingall, be made all of canes and reedes, and the people, enhabiting the same, very ethnyckes and heathen, and not the fortith person of them christened, and moost of them people that have comittid crymes in other places and fledd thither onely for thair [safetie?]¹.

Item. He saith that, except it be that they have masse nowe and then within the castell, to the which a verey fewe of the said enhabitantes who have been trayned up of children doo sometye come, there is no other preest nor preacher to convert or instruct anyone of the christian faith.

[Endorsed]. 27 Maii 1562. Marten Frubisher's declaracion for the trafique to Guinea.

142. WILLIAM TOWERSON'S FIRST VOYAGE TO GUINEA.
1555-6².

The first voyage made by Master William Towrson, marchant of London, to the coast of Guinea, with two ships, in the yeere 1555.

Septem-
ber.

UPON Munday the thirtieth day of September, wee departed from the Isle of Wight, out of the haven of Neuport, with two good shippes, the one called the Hart, the other the Hinde, both of London, and the masters of them were John Ralph and William Carter, for a voyage to bee made unto the River de Sestos in Guinea and to other havens thereabout.

¹ This reference to 'the houses about the said fort and castle' must be an allusion to the Commonwealth of Mina, described in the introduction to the section on the Portuguese in Guinea. Frobisher's jibe at the heathen principles of the inhabitants contained much truth, but it was also a reply to the Portuguese claim to have converted a considerable number of the negroes. His allusion to most of the inhabitants of Mina town as criminals, who had fled thither for protection, would appear to be erroneous. What he probably meant to say was that many of the Portuguese in São Jorge de Mina were men who had been exiled as a punishment for crimes in their native country. This was a fact and a standing cause of criticism. Pieter de Marees, writing at the end of the sixteenth century, declared that the 'common soldiers, who come here [to Mina], or are sent here, have to live here customarily all their lives, and are generally persons who have merited death by their conduct in Spain or Portugal, and who have been banished' (*Beschryvinge*, ch. 49).

² Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, VI, 177-211. Towerson himself appears to be the narrator of this voyage. It may be assumed that Hakluyt reproduced the account just as he received it from Towerson.

It fell out by the varietie of windes that it was the foureteenth day of October, before wee coulde fetch Dartmouth: and being there arrived, wee continued in that roade sixe dayes, and the 20 of October we warpt out of the haven, and set saile, directing our course towards the south-west, and the next morning we were runne by estimation thirty leagues. *October.*

The first of November, we found ourselves to be in 31 degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our master. This day we ranne about 40 leagues also. *November*

The second day we ranne 36 leagues.

The third day we had sight of Porto Santo, which is a small island lying in the sea, about three leagues long and a league & a halfe broad, & is possessed by Portugals. It riseth, as we came from the north-north-west, like two small hilles neere together. The east end of the same island is a high land like a saddle with a valley, which makes it to beare that forme. The west ende of it is lower with certaine small round hillocks. This island lyeth in thirty and three degrees. The same day at 11 of the clocke we rayed¹ the isle of Madera, which lieth 12 leagues from Porto Santo towards the south-west: that island is a faire island and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portugals; it riseth afarre off like a great whole land and high. By three of the clocke this day, at afternoone, we were thwart of Porto Santo, and we set our course south-west, to leave the isle of Madera to the eastward, as we did Porto Santo. These two islands were the first land that we saw, since wee left the coast of England. About three of the clocke, after midnight, wee were thwart of Madera, within three leagues of the west ende of it, and by meanes of the high hilles there, we were becalmed. We suppose we ranne this day and night 30 leagues. *Porto Santo.* *Madera.*

The fourth day wee lay becalmed under the isle of Madera untill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then, the winde comming into the east, wee went our course, and ranne that day fifteene leagues.

The 5 day we ranne 15 leagues more.

The 6 day in the morning we rayed¹ the isle of Tenerif, *Tenerif.*

¹ The meaning here is 'to come in sight of'.

Palma. otherwise called the Pike¹, because it is a very high island, with a pike upon the top like a loafe of suger. The same night we raised² the isle of Palma, which is a high land also, and to the westward of the isle of Tenerif.

Gomera. The 7 day we perceived the isle of Gomera, which is an island standing betwixt Tenerif and Palma, about 12 leagues eastward from Palma and 8 leagues westward from Tenerif: and for feare of being becalmed with the isle of Tenerif, we left both it and Gomera to the eastward of us, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and night 30 leagues.

Note that these islands be 60 leagues from Madera, and that there are 3 islands more to the westward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forte-ventura, & Lancerot³, of which islands we came not in sight. They be inhabited by Spaniards.

Ferro. This day also we had sight of the isle of Ferro, which is to the southwards, 13 leagues from the other islands, and is possessed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reason of the winde we could not double the point of the isle of Ferro, except we would have gone to the westward of it, which had bene much out of our course; therefore, we kept about, and ranne backe five houres east-north-east to the ende we might double it upon the next boord, the winde continuing south-east, which hath not bene often seene upon that coast by any travellers; for the winde continueth there for the most part north-east & east-north-east; so upon the other boord by the next morning we were in a maner with the island, and had roome ynough to double the same.

The 8 day we kept our course as neare the winde as wee could, because that our due course to fetch the coast of Barbary was south-east and by east, but by the scant winde wee could not goe our due course, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25 leagues.

The 9 day we ranne 30 leagues, the 10 25 leagues, the 12 24.

The 12 day we sawe a saile under our lee, which was, as we

¹ All the Canary islands are of volcanic origin, and mountainous, and they rise to 12,185 ft. in Teneriffe, which is sometimes called Pico de Teyde. It is to this peak that Towerson here refers.

² The meaning here is 'to come in sight of'.

³ The islands of Grand Canary, Fuerteventura and Lanzarote are actually east of Teneriffe.

thought, a fisherman, so that wee went roome to have spoken with him, but within one houre there fell such a fogge that wee could not see the shippe nor one of us the other; we shot off divers pieces to the Hinde, but she heard them not; at afternoone she shot off a piece, which wee heard, and made her answere with another; and, within one halfe houre after, the fogge brake up, and we were within 4 leagues of the shoare upon the coast of Barbary, and wee sounded and had 14 fadom water. The Barke also came roome with us and there ankered by reason of the contrary winde. When we fell with the land, we could not judge justly what part of the land it was, because the most part of that coast is lowe land, and no part to be judged of it but the forepart of the shoare, which is white, like chalke or sand, and very deepe unto the hard shoare; there immediatly we began to fish, and found great store of a kinde of fish, which the Portugals commonly fish for upon that coast, which they cal pergosses, the Frenchmen call them saders, and our men salt-water breames. Before the clearing up of the fogge, the shippe, which we followed, shaped us such a course that we could see her no more, by reason of our shooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coast of Barbary, by our pilots' reckon-
River del Oro.

The 13 day in the afternoone wee spyed a saile comming towards us, which wee judged to be the saile that wee sawe the day before, and, as soone as we spied him, wee caused the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towards him, and manned out our skiffe in like case to lay him aboorde, or to discerne what hee was, and wee ourselves within halfe an houre after wayed also; but after the saile had espied us, hee kept about and turned backe againe, and, shortly after, there fell such another fogge that wee coulde not see him; which fogges continued all that night, so that we were constrained to leave the chase. This afternoone the winde came about, and wee went our course south-west and by west to goe cleare off the coast. Wee ranne that night sixteene leagues.

The foureteenth day, in the morning, was very foggie; but about twelve a clocke wee espied a carvell of 60 tunne which was fishing, and we sent our skiffe to him with five men, and all

*A carvell
taken.*

*Great
store of
fish upon
the coast
of
Barbary.*

without any weapon saving their oares. The carvell for haste let slippe her ancre, and set saile; and they seeing that, fearing that they should not fetch her, would tary for no weapons, and in the ende overtooke the carvell, and made her to strike saile, and brought her away, although they had foureteene or fifteene men aboard, & every man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to resist our men. After they were come to us, they let fall their ancre, for wee had cast ancre because the winde was not good. I caused then the skiffe to come for mee, and I went aboorde of them to see that no harme should bee done to them, nor to take anything but that which they might spare us for our money. So we tooke of them 3 tapnets¹ of figges, two small pots of oyle, two pipes of water, foure hogsheads of salt fish, which they had taken upon the coast, and certaine fresh fish, which they did not esteeme, because there is such store upon that coast that, in an houre and sometime lesse, a man may take as much fish as will serve twentie men a day. For these things, and for some wine which wee dranke aboorde of them, and three or foure great cannes, which they sent aboard of our shippes, I payed them twentie and seven pistolets², which was twise as much as they willingly would have taken; and so let them goe to their ancre and cable, which they had let slippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this, wee set saile, but the winde caused us to ancre againe about twelve leagues off the river del Oro, as the Portugals tolde us. There were five carvels more in this place, but when they sawe us, they made all away for feare of us³.

The 15 day we ridde still because of the winde.

The 16 day we set saile and ranne our course 40 leagues. This day, by the reckoning of our pilots, we were right under the

¹ Tapnet, or topnet, or toppet, a basket made of rushes in which figs were imported. Thorold Rogers (*History of agriculture and prices*, iv, 671) writes: 'Between 1516 and 1540, the price of figs by the toppet or topnet is a little over 2s. 3d. . . . Such a price . . . suggests . . . that the toppet contained about 30 lbs., and that it corresponds to the earlier trail.'

² Pistolet (French, *pistolet*), an old coin worth about 16/- sterling.

³ A large number of Portuguese caravels sailed to the Barbary fishing banks every year, and it was a favourite custom of the English and French corsairs in the sixteenth century, while on their way to Guinea, Brazil and the West Indies, to seize and plunder some of the fishing caravels, which they found there.

tropike of cancer. The 17 day we ranne 25 leagues within sight for the most part of the coast of Barbary.

The 18 day we ranne thirtie leagues, and at twelve of the clocke, by the reckoning of our pilots, we were thwart of Cape Blanke.

The 22 day our pilots reckoned us to be thwart Cape Verde.

The 12 day of December, we had sight of land of Guinea, which as soone as we saw we halled into the land north-east, and about 12 of the clocke at night we were neere the shoare within lesse than 2 leagues; and then we kept about and sounded, and found 18 fadom water. Afterwards, we saw a light towards the shoare, which we thought to have bene a ship, and thereby judged it to be the river de Sestos, which light, as soone as we espied, we came to an anker & armed our tops, and made all things ready to fight, because we doubted that it might be some Portugall or Frenchman; this night we remained at an anker, but in the morning we saw no man, only we espied 4 rockes about 2 English miles from us, one great rocke, and the 3 other smal ones, which, when we sawe, we supposed that the light came from the shore, and so wayed and set saile east-south-east along the shoare, because the master did not well know the place, but thought that we were not so farre to the east as the river de Sestos.

This land all along is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the shoare, so that it is not possible to know the place that a man doth fall withall, except it be by the latitude. In these 24 houres, I thinke we ran 16 leagues, for all the night we had a great gale, as we were under saile, and had withall store of thunder and lightnings.

The 13 day for the most part we ran east-south-east all along the shoare, within two leagues alwayes of the same, and found the land all as at the first, ful of woods and great rocks, hard aboard the shoare, and the billow beating so sore that the seas brake upon the shoare as white as snow, and the water mounted so high that a man might easily discerne it 4 leagues off, in such wise that no boate could land there. Thus we ran until 12 of the clocke, and then they tooke the sunne and after judged themselves to be 24 leagues past the river de Sestos to the eastwards,

The tropike of cancer in 23 and a halfe.

Cape Blanke.

The coast of Guinea.

by reason whereof we halled into the shoare within two English miles, and there ancred and found fifteene fadom water, and all off from the shoare the sea so smooth that we might wel have rid by an hawser. All that afternoone, we trimmed our boate and made her a saile, to the ende that she might go along by the shoore to seeke some place to water in; for wee could not goe backe againe to the river de Sestos, because the winde blowes alwayes contrary, and the currant runneth alwayes to the eastwards, which was also against us.

*The
currant
setting
eastward.*

The 14 day we set saile & went back againe along the coast, and sent our boats hard aboord the shoare to seeke a watering place, which they found about 12 of the clock, and we, being farre into the sea, met with divers boats of the countrey, small, long and narrow, & in every boate one man and no more; we gave them bread, which they did eat, & were very gladd of it. About 4 of the clocke, our boats came to us with fresh water; and this night we ankered against a river.

The 15 day we wayed and set saile to goe neere the shoare, and with our leade wee sounded all the way, and found sometimes rockes, and sometimes faire ground, and at the shallowest found 7 fadoms alwayes at the least. So in fine we found 7 fadom and a halfe within an English mile of the shoare, and there we ankered in a maner before the mouth of the river, and then wee sent our boats into the river for water, which went about a mile within the river, where they had very good water. This river lieth, by estimation, 8 leagues beyond the river de Sestos, and is called in the carde river S. Vincent [Grand Butu river], but it is so hard to finde that a boat, being within halfe a mile of it, shall not be able to discerne that it is a river; by reason that directly before the mouth of it there lyeth a ledge of rockes, which is much broader then the river, so that a boate must runne in along the shoare a good way betwixt the rockes and the shoare, before it come to the mouth of the river, and, being within it, it is a great river, and divers other rivers fall into it. The going into it is somewhat ill, because that at the entring the seas do goe somewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames.

*River S.
Vincent.*

There are neere to the sea upon this river divers inhabitants,

which are mighty bigge men and go al naked, except something before their privie parts, which is like a clout about a quarter of a yard long, made of the barke of trees, and yet it is like a cloth; for the barke is of that nature, that it will spin small after the maner of linnen. Some of them also weare the like upon their heades, being painted with divers colours, but the most part of them go bare-headed, and their heads are clipped and shorne of divers sorts, and the most part of them have their skin of their bodies raced with divers workes, in maner of a leather jerkin. The men and women goe so alike that one cannot know a man from a woman but by their breastes, which for the most part be very foule and long, hanging downe low like the udder of a goate.

*Cloth
made of
the barke
of trees*

*The
negroes
race th
skinnes*

The same morning we went into the river with our skiffe, and caried certaine basons, manels [manelios, or manillas], &c. And there we tooke that day one hogshead and 100 li. [*i.e. librae*, pl. of Lat. *libra*, pound] waight of graines, and two elephants' teeth at a reasonable good reckoning. Wee solde them both basons, and manelios, and margarits¹, but they desired most to have basons. For the most part of our basons wee had by estimation about 30 li. for a piece, and for an elephant's tooth of 30 li. waight we gave them 6.

*Graine
Guinea
Eleph
teeth.*

The 16 day in the morning, we went into the river with our skiffe, and tooke some of every sort of our marchandize with us, and shewed it to the negroes, but they esteemed it not, but made light of it, and also of the basons, manellios and margarits, which yesterday they did buy; howbeit, for the basons they would have given us some graines, but to no purpose, so that this day wee tooke not by estimation above one hundreth pound waight of graines, by meanes of their captaine, who would suffer no man to sell anything but through his hands and at his price; he was so subtil that for a bason hee would not give 15 pound waight of graines, and sometimes would offer us small dishfuls, whereas before wee had baskets full; and when he saw that wee would not take them in contentment, the captaine departed, and caused all the rest of the boates to depart, thinking belike

¹ Margarite (Old French *margarite*), pearl. The margarites used for barter on the Guinea coast were probably imitation pearls.

that wee would have followed them, and have given them their owne askings. But after that wee perceived their fetch, wee wayed our grapnel and went away, and then wee went on land into a small towne to see the fashions of the countrey, and there came a three-score of them about us, and at the first they were afraid of us, but in the ende, perceiving that wee did no hurt, they would come to us and take us by the hand and be familiar with us, and then we went into their townes, which were like to twentie small hovels, all covered over with great leaves and baggage, and all the sides open, and a scaffold under the house about a yard high, where they worke many pretie things of the barkes of trees, and there they lye also. In some of their houses, they worke yron and make faire dartes, and divers other things to worke their boates, and other things withall, and the women worke as well as the men. But when wee were there, divers of the women to shew us pleasure danced and sung after their maner, full ill to our eares. Their song was thus:

Sakere, sakere, ho, ho. Sakere, sakere, ho, ho.

And with these words they leape and dance and clap their hands. Beastes we could see none that they had, but two goates, small dogges, and small hennes; other beastes we saw none. After that we had well marked all things, we departed and went aboard our ships; which thing the captaine of the other towne perceiving, sent two of his servants in a boat with a basket of graines, and made us signes that, if when we had slept, wee would come againe into their river, wee should have store of graines, and so shewed us his graines and departed.

The 17 day in the morning, because we thought that the negroes would have done something, because the captaine sent for us, I required the master to goe on shoare, and sent the rest of our marchants with him, and taried aboard myselfe, by reason that the last day he esteemed our things so litle; so when the master and the rest came into the river, the captaine with divers others came to them, and brought graines with them, & after that he saw that I was not there, he made signes to know where I was, and they made signes to him againe that I was in the ships; and then hee made signes to know who was captaine by the name of Diago, for so they call their captaine, & they

*The description
of their
houses.*

*ago the
ne of a
taine.*

pointed to the master of the ship; then he began to shew his graines, but he held them so unreasonably that there was no profit to be made of them; which things the master perceiving, and seeing that they had no store of graines, came away, and tooke not above 50 pound waight of graines. Then he went ashoare to the litle towne, where we were the day before, & one of them plucked a gourd, wherewith the negroes were offended, & came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made signes to them to depart; which our men did, having but one bow and two or three swords, and went aboard the boate and came away from them; and as soone as they were come aboard, we wayed and set saile, but the winde was off the sea, so that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, and therefore we came to ancre againe.

This river is called river S. Vincent, standing in 4 degrees and a halfe, and it ebbeth and floweth there every 12 houres, but not much water when it ebbeth the most; while wee were there, it ebbed one fadome and a halfe water.

This countrey as farre as we could perceive is altogether woody, and al strange trees, whereof wee knewe none, and they were of many sorts, with great leaves, like great dockes, which bee higher then any man is able to reach the top of them.

There are certaine peason by the sea side, which grow upon great and very long stalkes, one of the stalkes I measured and found it 27 paces long, and they grow upon the sand, like to trees, and that so neere the sea that sometimes the sea floweth into the woods, as we might perceive by the water markes. The trees and all things in this place grow continually greene. Divers of the women have such exceeding long breasts that some of them wil lay the same upon the ground and lie downe by them, but all the women have not such breasts.

At this place all the day the winde bloweth off the sea, and all the night off the land, but wee found it to differ sometimes, which our master marveiled at.

This night at 9 of the clocke the winde came up at the east, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the north-north-west off the shoare; yet we wayed and halled off south with that winde all night into the sea, but the next morn-

The latitude of S. Vincent river is 4 degrees and a halfe.

Leaves of exceeding length.

Long pease stalkes.

Long women's breasts.

ing we halled in againe to the lande, and tooke in 6 tunnes of water for our ship, and I thinke the Hinde tooke in as much.

I could not perceiue that here was any gold, or any other good thing; for the people be so wilde and idle that they give themselves to seeke out nothing; if they would take paines, they might gather great store of graines, but in this place I could not perceiue two tunne.

There are many foules in the countrey, but the people wil not take the paines to take them.

I obserued some of their words of speach, which I thought good here to set downe.

*The language
about the
river of S.
Vincent.*

Bezow, bezow,
Manegete afoye,
Crocow afoye,
Zeramme afoye,
Begge sacke,
Begge come,
Borke,
Coutrecke,
Veede,
Brekeke,
Diago,

Is their salutation.

Graines ynough.

Hennes ynough.

Have you ynough?

Give me a knife.

Give me bread.

Holde your peace.

Ye lye.

Put foorth, or emptie.

Rowe.

Their captaine, and some call

him Dabo. These and other wordes they speake very thicke, and oftentimes recite one word three times together, and at the last time longer then at the two first¹.

The 18 day, towards night, as we were sailing along the coast, we met with certaine boats in the sea, & the men shewed us that

¹ The native words and phrases listed here show distinct traces of Portuguese linguistic influence. The natives themselves had constantly trafficked with Portuguese on this part of the Malagueta or Grain coast for more than eighty years, and it is, therefore, not remarkable that by 1555 they should have picked up a number of Portuguese terms. They seem to have used a corrupt form of Portuguese, interspersed with an occasional native word or phrase, or even an occasional English word (such as 'begge' in the phrase 'begge come'), when they conversed with white traders on the coast. Of the words cited here, 'Diago' is derived from Port. *Diogo*; 'afoye' may be a corrupt form of Port. *assaz*, enough; 'crocow' is connected with Port. *croô*, the cackling of hens; 'come' with Port. *comer*, to eat; 'veede' possibly with Port. *vasar*, to empty; and the term 'Manegete' is derived, of course, from the Port. *malagueta*.

there was a river thwart of us, where there were graines to be sold, but we thought it not good to tary there, least the other ships should get before us. This river hath lying before it three great rockes, and 5 small rocks, one great tree, and a litle tree right by the river, which in height exceeded all the rest. We halled this night along the coast 10 leagues.

The 19 day, as we coasted the shoare, about twelve of the clocke there came out to us 3 boates to tell us that they had graines, & brought some with them for a shew, but we could not tary there. We proceeded along the coast, & ancred by the shore all the night, and ran this day 10 leagues.

The 20 day, the Hinde, having ankered by us amongst rockes and foule ground, lost a small anker. At noone, as we passed along the coast, there came forth a negro to us, making signes that, if we would goe ashoare, wee should have graines, and where wee ankered at night, there came another to us, and brought graines, and shewed us them, and made signes that wee should tary, and made a fire upon the land in the night, meaning thereby to tell us where we should land, and so they did in divers other places upon the coast, where they saw us to anker.

In al the places where we have ancred, since we came from our wating place, we have found the tide alwayes running to the westwards, and all along the coast many rockes hard aboard the shoare, and many of them a league off the shoare or more. We ran this day 12 leagues.

*The tides
and
nature of
the
shoare.*

The 21 day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came so sore out of the coast that we were not able to runne above sixe leagues; and this day there came some negroes to us, as there had done other times.

The 22 wee ranne all day and night to double a point, called Das palmas [Cape Palmas], and ranne sixteene leagues.

*The point
of Palmas*

The 23 day about 3 of the clocke, we were thwart of the point, & before we came to the westermost part of it, we saw a great ledge of rocks, which lie west from the cape about 3 leagues and a league or more from the land. Shortly after we had sight of the eastermost part of the cape, which lieth 4 leagues from the westermost part, and upon the very corner thereof lie two greene places, as it were closes, and to the west-

wards of the cape the land parted from the cape, as it were a bay, whereby it may well be knowen. Foure leagues more beyonde that, there lieth a headland in the sea¹, and about two leagues beyond the headland there goeth in a great bay, as it were a river, before which place we ankered all that night, which wee did, least in the night wee should overrunne a river, where the *last yeere they had all their elephants' teeth.

*That
was the
yeere 1554.

This Cape Das palmas lieth under foure degrees and a halfe², and betwixt the said cape and the river de Sestos is the greatest store of graines to be had, and being past the said cape, there is no great store elsewhere.

The tides
running
eastward.

Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ran alwayes to the westward, from this cape runneth all to the eastward³. This day we ranne some 16 leagues.

The 24 day, running our course, about eight of the clock there came forth to us certaine boats, which brought with them small egges, which were soft without shels, and they made us signes that there was within the land fresh water and goates; and the master, thinking that it was the river which we sought, cast ancker and sent the boate on shoare, with one that knew the river, and comming neere the shoare, hee perceived that it was not the river, and so came backe againe, and went along the shoare, with their oares and saile, and wee weyed and ranne along the shoare also; and being thirteene leagues beyond the cape, the master perceived a place, which he judged to be the river, when wee were indeede two miles shot past it; yet the boate came from the shoare, and they that were in her saide that there was no river; notwithstanding wee came to an ancker, and the master and I tooke five men with us in the boat, and when hee came neere the shoare, hee perceived that it was the same river which hee did seeke; so we rowed in, and found the entrance very ill, by reason that the sea goeth so high; and being entred, divers boates came to us, and shewed us that they had elephants' teeth, and they brought us one of about eight pound,

¹ Growa Point?

² Actually 4° 22' N.

³ This was well known to contemporaries. 'From the month of September to the end of March and for some months after,' wrote Pacheco, 'the sea runs past this cape [Palmas] eastwards and east-north-eastwards . . . strongly' (*Esmeraldo*, bk. 2, ch. 3).

& a little one of a pound, which we bought; then they brought certaine teeth to the river side, making signes that, if the next day we would come againe, they would sell us them; so we gave unto two captaines, to either of them a manillio, and so we departed, and came aboard, and sent out the other boate to another place, where certaine boates, that came into the sea, made us signes that there was fresh water; and being come thither, they found a towne, but no river; yet the people brought them fresh water, and shewed them an elephant's tooth, making signes that the next day they would sel them teeth, and so they came aboard.

A Toze

This river lieth by the carde thirteene leagues from the Cape Das palmas, and there lieth to the westwards of the same a rocke about a league in the sea, and the river itselſe hath a point of lande comming out into the sea, whereupon grow five trees, which may well bee discerned two or three leagues off, comming from the westward, but the river cannot bee perceived untill such time as a man be hard by it, and then a man may perceive a litle towne on ech side the river, and to ech towne there belongeth a captaine. The river is but small, but the water is good and fresh.

Two miles beyond the river, where the other towne is, there lieth another point into the sea, which is greene, like a close, and not above sixe trees upon it, which growe one of them from the other, whereby the coast may well be knowen; for along all the coast that we have hitherto sailed by, I have not seene so much bare land.

In this place, and three or foure leagues to the westward of it, al along the shoare, there grow many palme trees, whereof they make their wine de palma. These trees may easily be knowen almost two leagues off, for they be very high and white bodied, and streight, and be biggest in the midst; they have no boughes, but onely a round bush in the top of them; and at the top of the same trees they boare a hole, and there they hang a bottell, and the juyce of the tree runneth out of the said hole into the bottle, and that is their wine.

*Many
Palme
trees.*

From the Cape das Palmas to the Cape Tres puntas there are 100 leagues; and to the port where we purpose to make sales of our cloth beyond the Cape Tres puntas 40 leagues.

*Cape
puntas*

Note, that betwixt the river De Sestos and the Cape Das palmas is the place where all the graines be gathered.

The language of the people of this place, as farre as I could perceiue, differeth not much from the language of those which dwel where we watred before; but the people of this place be more gentle in nature then the other, and goodlier men; their building & apparel is all one with the others.

Their desire in this place was most of all to have manillios and margarites; as for the rest of our things, they did litle esteeme them.

*Their
maner of
swearing
by the
water of
the sea.*

About nine of the clocke, there came boates to us fouth, from both of the places aforesaid, and brought with them certaine teeth, and after they had caused me to sweare by the water of the sea that I would not hurt them, they came aboard our ship three or foure of them, and we gave them to eate of all such things as we had, and they did eate and drinke of all things, as well as we ourselves. Afterwards we bought all their teeth, which were in number 14, and of those 14 there were 10 small; afterwards they departed, making us signes that the next day we should come to their townes.

*Two
townes.*

The 26 day, because we would not trifle long at this place, I required the master to goe unto one of the townes, and to take two of our marchants with him, & I myselfe went to the other, and tooke one with me, because these two townes stand three miles asunder. To these places we caried somewhat of every kinde of marchandize that we had; and hee had at the one towne nine teeth, which were but small, and at the other towne, where I was, I had eleven, which were also not bigge, and we left aboard with the master certaine manillios, wherewith he bought 12 teeth aboard the ship, in our absence; and having bought these of them, wee perceived that they had no more teeth; so in that place, where I was, one brought to me a small goat, which I bought, and to the master at the other place they brought five small hennes, which he bought also, and after that we saw there was nothing else to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke we met aboard, and then wayed, and went east our course 18 leagues still within sight of land.

The 28 the wind varied, and we ranne into the sea, and the

winde comming againe off the sea, wee fell with the land againe, and the first of the land, which we raised, shewed as a great red cliffe, round, but not very high, and to the eastward of that another smaller red cliffe, and right above that into the land a round hummoke and greene, which we tooke to be trees. We ranne in these 24 houres not above foure leagues.

The 29 day, comming neere to the shoare, we perceived the red cliffe aforesaide to have right upon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the westwards of it ful of red cliffes as farre as we could see, and all along the shoare, as well upon the cliffes, as otherwise, full of wood; within a mile of the said great cliffe there is a river to the eastwards, and no cliffes that we could see, except one small cliffe, which is hard by it. We ran this day and night 12 leagues.

The windes that wee had in this place, by the reports of the people and of those that have bene there, have not bene usuall, but in the night, at north off the lande, and in the day, south off the sea, and most commonly north-west, and south-west.

The 31 day, we went our course by the shoare northwards; this land is al along a low shoare, and full of wood, as all the coast is for the most part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates, which went afishing, which bee greater boates then those which we sawe before, so that in some of them there sate 5 men, but the fashion of the boats is all one. In the afternoone, about three of the clocke, wee had sight of a towne by the sea side, which our pilots judged to be 25 leagues to the westwards of the Cape Tres puntas.

The third of January, in the morning, we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night passed, as our pilots saide, by one of the Portugals' castles, which is 8 leagues to the westwards of the cape¹; upon the first sight of the cape, wee discerned it a very high land, and all growen over with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceived two headlands, as it were two bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the westward, and the uttermost of them is the easterne cape, there we perceived the middle cape, and the eastermost cape; the middle cape standeth not above a league from the west cape, although the card sheweth

*Cape T
puntas.*

¹ Axim.

them to be 3 leagues one from the other; and that middle cape hath right before the point of it a small rocke, so neere to it that it cannot be discerned from the cape, except a man be neere to the shoare, and upon the same cape standeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwart the same cape to the eastward, there riseth hard by it a round greene hommoke, which commeth out of the maine.

The thirde cape is about a league beyond the middle cape, and is a high land like to the other capes, and betwixt the middle and the thirde commeth out a litle head or point of a land out of the maine, and divers rocks hard aboard the shoare.

Before we came to the capes, being about 8 leagues off them, wee had the land south-east and by east, and being past the capes, the land runneth in againe east-north-east.

About two leagues beyond the farthest cape, there is a lowe glade about two miles long, and then the land riseth high againe, and divers headlands rise one beyond another, and divers rockes lie at the point of the first headland. The middest of these capes is the neerest to the southwards, I meane, further into the sea then any of the other, so that, being to the eastward of it, it may be discerned farre off, and being so to the eastward, it riseth with two small rockes.

This day we ankered for feare of overshooting a towne called S. Johns¹. Wee ran this day not above 8 leagues. In the after-noonne this day, there came a boate of the countrey from the shoare, with five men in her, and went along by us, as we thought, to discerne our flagges, but they would not come neere us, and when they had well looked upon us, they departed.

The fourth day, in the morning, sailing by the coast, we espied a ledge of rockes by the shoare, and to the westwards of them two great greene hils joyning together, so that betweene them it was hollow, like a saddle; and within the said rockes the master thought the aforementioned towne had stode, and therefore we manned our boates, and tooke with us cloth and other marchandize, and rowed ashoare, but going along by the coast, we sawe that there was no towne. Therefore wee went aboard againe.

¹ Samma. See below, p. 378, note 2.

From these two hills aforesaid, about two leagues to the eastward, lie out into the sea almost two miles a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great bay, which runneth into the north-north-westward, and the land in this place lieth north-north-east along the shoare; but the uttermost point of land in that place, that we could see, lay north-east and by east from us.

After that we were with a small gale of winde runne past that uttermost headland, we sawe a great red cliffe, which the master againe judged to be the towne of S. Johns, and then wee tooke our boate with marchandize, and went thither; and when we came thither, we perceived that there was a towne upon the toppe of the hill, and so wee went toward it; and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great sort of them, and waved us to come in, with a peece of cloth, and so we went into a very faire bay, which lieth to the eastward of the cliffe, whereupon the towne standeth; and being within the cliffe, wee let fall our grapnell; and after that we had taried there a good space, they sent a boate aboard of us to shewe us that they had golde, and they shewed us a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to know our measure & our weight, that they might shewe their captaine thereof; and wee gave them a measure of two elles, and a waight of two angels to shew unto him, which they tooke, and went on shoare, and shewed it unto their captaine, and then they brought us a measure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and one crusado-weight of gold, making us signes that so much they would give for the like measure, and lesse they would not have. After this, we taried there about an houre, and when we sawe that they would doe no otherwise, and withall understood that all the best places were before us, wee departed to our shippes and wayed, and ranne along the shoare, and went before with our boate; and having sailed about a league, we came to a point, where there lay foorth a ledge of rockes, like to the others before spoken of, and being past that people, the master spied a place which he saide plainely was the towne of don John; and the night was come upon us, so that we could not well discerne it, but we ankered as neere unto the place as we could.

*The
towne of
don
John².*

The fift day, in the morning, we perceived it to be the same towne indeede, and we manned our boates and went thither, and because that the last yeere the Portugals at that place tooke away a man from them, and after shot at them with great bases¹, and did beate them from the place², we let fall our grapnel almost a base shot off the shoare, and there we lay about two houres, and no boats came to us. Then certaine of our men with the Hinde's boate went into the bay, which lieth to the eastward of the towne, and within that bay they found a goodly fresh river³, and afterwards they came and waved to us also to come in, because they perceived the negroes to come downe to that place, which we did; and immediatly the negroes came to us, and made us signes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboard our boates, neither could wee perceive any boates that they had to come withall, so that we judged that the Portugals had spoiled their boates, because we saw halfe of their towne destroyed.

Wee, having stayed there a good space, and seeing that they would not come to us, thrust our boates' heads ashoare, being both well appointed, and then the captaine of the towne came downe, being a grave man; and he came with his dart in his hand, and sixe tall men after him, every one with his dart & his target, and their darts were all of yron, faire and sharpe, and there came another after them which caried the captaine's stoole; wee saluted him, and put off our caps, and bowed ourselves, and hee, like one that thought well of himselfe, did not moove his cap, nor scant bowed his body, and sate him downe very

¹ The 'base' was the smallest kind of cannon used in the sixteenth century. *Captain Smith's Seaman's Grammar* (II, vii, 96) describes the base as having a bore of 1.25", and a weight of 200 lbs., the weight of its shot being 0.5 lb.

² The narrator here seems to confuse the town of don John, which was situated near Queen Anne Point, with that of St. John or Samma. The context shows that he means Samma. Lok had put into the town on 12 January 1554/5, and Martin Frobisher had gone ashore as a hostage only to find himself kept a prisoner by the Portuguese. See above p. 332.

³ Samma Bay and the river Pra. The Portuguese called the Pra the Rio de São João [St. John's river] (*Esmeraldo*, bk. 2, ch. 4). The modern name is of native origin according to Bosman, who writes (*Description*, p. 19): 'The Chamascian-river, or Rio de St. Juan, called by the negroes Bossum Pra, which they adore as a god (as the word *bossum* signifies), takes its course . . . about 100 miles inland.' The Pra is actually about 180 miles long.

solemnly upon his stoole; but all his men put off their caps to us, and bowed downe themselves.

He was clothed from the loines downe with a cloth of that countrey making, wrapped about him, and made fast about his loynes with a girdle, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the countrey also, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare above the loynes, except his head.

His servants, some of them had cloth about their loines, and some nothing but a cloth betwixt their legges, and made fast before, and behinde to their girdles, and cappes of their owne making, some like a basket, and some like a great wide purse of beasts' skinnes.

All their cloth, cordes, girdles, fishing lines, and all such like things, which they have, they make of the bark of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very pretily, and yron worke they can make very fine, and all such things as they doe occupy, as darts, fishhookes, hooking yrons, yron heads, and great daggers, some of them as long as a woodknife, which be on both sides exceeding sharpe, and bended after the maner of Turkie blades, and the most part of them have hanging at their left side one of those great daggers.

*Their
weapons*

Their targets bee made of such pils as their cloth is made of, and very closely wrought, and they bee in forme foure-square, and very great, and somewhat longer then they bee broad, so that, kneeling downe, they make their targets to cover their whole body. Their bowes be short, and of a pretie strength, as much as a man is able to draw with one of his fingers, and the string is of the barke of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad; as for their arrowes, I have not as yet seene any of them, for they had wrapped them up close, and because I was busie, I could not stand about it to have them open them. Their golde also they worke very well.

When the captaine was set, I sent him two elles of cloth and two basons, and gave them unto him, and hee sent againe for a waight of the same measure, and I sent him a weight of two angels, which he would not take, nether would hee suffer the towne to buy anything but the basons of brasse; so that wee solde that day 74 basons unto the men of the towne for about

halfe an angel weight, one with another, and nine white basons, which we solde for a quarter of an angell a peece, or thereabouts.

We shewed them all our other things, which we had, but they did not esteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the captaine, who did depart in the morning from us, came againe, and brought with him to present mee withall a henne and two great rootes, which I received, and after made me signes that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great store of gold, which indeed about 4 of the clocke they did; for there came about 100 men under 3 captaines, well appointed with their darts and bowes, and when they came to us, every man sticked downe his dart upon the shoare, and the captaines had stooles brought them, and they sate downe, and sent a young man aboard of us, which brought a measure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and one sixteenth part, and he would have that foure times for a waight of one angell and twelve graines. I offered him two elles, as I had done before, for two angels' weight, which he esteemed nothing, but still stucke at his foure measures aforesaid; yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him signes that I would depart, he came to foure elles for the weight abovesaid, and otherwise he would not deale, and so we departed. This day, we tooke for basons sixe ounces and a halfe and one eight part.

The sixt day, in the morning, we manned out boates and the skiffe well, for feare of the Portugals, which the last yeere had taken away a man from the other ships, and went on shoare, and landed, because they had no boates to come to us; and so the young man, which was with us the night before, was sent aboard, who seemed to have dealt and bargained before with the Portugals, for he could speake a litle Portuguese, and was perfect in weights and measures; at his comming, he offered us, as he had done before, one angell and twelve graines for foure elles, and more he would not give, and made signes that, if we would not take that, we should depart, which we did; but before we did indeede depart, I offered him of some rotten cloth three elles for his waight of an angell and twelve graines, which he would not take; and then we departed, making signes to him that we would go away, as indeede we would have done rather

then have given that measure, although the cloth was ill, seeing we were so neere to the places, which we judged to be better for sale. Then we went aboard our ships, which lay about a league off, and came backe againe to the shoare for sand and balaste; and then the captaine, perceiving that the boats had brought no marchandize but came onely for water and sand, and seeing that we would depart, came unto them, making signes againe to know whether we would not give the foure elles, and they made signes againe that we would give them but three, and when they sawe that the boates were ready to depart they came unto them and gave them the weight of our angell and twelve graines, which we required before, and made signes that, if we would come againe, they would take three elles. So when the boates came aboard, we layde wares in them both, and for the speedier dispatch I and John Savill went in one boat, and the master John Makeworth, and Richard Curligin, in the other, and went on shoare; and that night I tooke for my part fiftie and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight and measure; and so being very late, we departed and went aboard, and tooke in all this day three pound.

The seventh day, we went ashoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate three pound 19 ounces, so that we dispatched almost all the cloth, that we caried with us, before noone; and then many of the people were departed, & those that remained had litle golde, yet they made us signes to fetch them some latten basons, which I would not, because I purposed not to trifle out ye time, but goe thence with speede to don John's towne. But John Savill and John Makeworth were desirous to goe againe; and I, loth to hinder them of any profite, consented, but went not myselfe; so they tooke eighteene ounces of gold and came away, seeing that the people, at a certaine crie made, were departed.

While they were at the shoare, there came a young fellow, which could speake a little Portuguise, with three more with him, and to him I solde 39 basons and two small white sawcers for three ounces, &c., which was the best reckoning that we did make of any basons; and in the forenoone, when I was at the

shoare, the master solde five basons unto the same fellow for halfe an ounce of golde.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceiue, had bene taken into the castle by the Portugales, and was gotten away from them, for he tolde us that the Portugales were bad men, and that they made them slaves if they could take them, and would put yrons upon their legges, and besides he told us that as many Frenchmen or Englishmen as they could take (for he could name these two very well), they would hang them; he told us further that there were 60 men in the castle, and that every yeere there came thither two shippes, one great, and one small carvell, and further that don John had warres with the Portugals¹, which gave mee the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth but foure leagues from the castle, wherehence our men were beaten the last yeere.

60 Portugales in the castle of Mina.

The English in anno 1554 tooke away 5 negroes.

This fellowe came aboard our shippe without feare, and as soone as he came, he demaunded why we had not brought againe their men, which the last yeere we tooke away, and could tell us that there were five taken away by Englishmen; we made him answere that they were in England well used, and were there kept till they could speake the language, and then they should be brought againe to be a helpe to Englishmen in this cuntry; and then he spake no more of that matter.

Our boates being come aboard, we wayed and set sayle, and a litle after spied a great fire upon the shoare, and by the light of the fire we might discerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the castle; and for feare of overshooting the towne of don John, we there ankered two leagues off the shoare, for it is hard to fetch up a towne here, if a ship overshoot it. This day we tooke seven pound and five ounces of golde.

This towne lieth in a great bay, which is very deepe.

The people in this place desired most to have basons and cloth. They would buy some of them, also many trifles, as knives, horsetailes, hornes; and some of our men, going ashoare, sold a cap, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They shewed us a certain course cloth, which I thinke to be

¹ Don John appears to have been one of the chiefs of the Fetu people, with whom the Portuguese were often at war.

made in France, for it was course wooll, and a small threed, and as thicke as wosted, and striped with stripes of greene, white, yellow, &c. Divers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glasse of divers colours. Here also I learned some of their language, as followeth:

Mattea, mattea,
Dassee, dassee,
Sheke,
Cowrte,
Cracca,
Bassina,
Foco, foco,
Molta,

{ Is their salutation.
I thanke you.
Golde.
Cut.
Knives.
Basons.
Cloth.
Much, or great store.

*This
language
seemeth
partly
to
be
corrupt*

The eight day in the morning, we had sight of the castle, but by reason of a miste that then fell we could not have the perfect sight of it, till we were almost at the towne of don John, and then it cleared up, and we saw it and a white house, as it were a chappell, upon the hill about it; then we halled into the shoare, within two English miles of don John's towne, and there ankered in seven fadome water. Here, as in many other places before, we perceived that the currant went with the winde.

*Sight of
the cast
of Mina*

The land here is in some places low and in some high, and full of wood altogether.

The towne of don John is but litle, of about twentie houses, and the most part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a man's height, made with reede or sedge, or some such thing. Here we staid two or three houres, after we had ankered, to see if any man would come unto us; and seeing that none did come, we manned our boates and put in marchandize, and went and ankered with our boates neere to the shoare; then they sent out a man to us, who made us signes that that was the towne of don John, and that he himselfe was in the countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the sunne; and when he had done,

*Don
John's
towne d
scribed.*

¹ Some of these native words are obviously from Portuguese. Thus, 'dassee' seems to be derived from Port. *dação*, a gift; 'cowrte' from Port. *corte*, a cut; 'bassina' from Port. *bacia*, basin; and 'molta' from Port. *muito*, much.

he required a reward, as the most part of them will doe which come first aboard, and I gave him one ell of cloth, and he departed, and that night we heard no more of him.

The ninth day in the morning, we went againe with our boates to the shoare, and there came foorth a boate to us, who made signes that don John was not come home but would be at home this day; and to that place also came another boate from the other towne a mile from this, which is called Don Devis, and brought with him gold to shew us, making signes that we should come thither. I then left in this place John Savill and John Makeworth, and tooke the Hinde, and went to the other towne and there ankered, and tooke cloth and went to shore with the boate; and by and by the boates came to us, and brought a measure of foure yards long & a halfe, and shewed us a weight of an angell and twelve graines, which they would give for so much, and not otherwise; so I staid and made no bargaine. And all this day the barke lay at don John's towne, and did nothing, having answeere that he was not come home.

The tenth day, we went againe to the shoare, and there came out a boat with good store of gold; and having driven the matter off a long time, and having brought the measure to a nayle lesse then three elles, and their weight to an angell and twentie graines, and could not bring them to more, I did conclude with them and solde, and within one quarter of an hour I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of golde; and then they made me signes to tary, till they had parted their cloth upon the shoare, as their manner is, and they would come againe, and so they went away, and layde the cloth all abroad upon the sande, peece by peece, and by and by one came running downe from the towne to them, and spake unto them, and foorthwith every man made as much haste as he could away, and went into the woods to hide his golde and his cloth. We mistrusted some knavery, and being waved by them to come ashoare, yet we would not, but went aboarde the Hinde, and perceived upon the hill 30 men, which we judged to be Portugals; and they went up to the toppe of the hill and there mustered and shewed themselves, having a flagge with them. Then I, being desirous to knowe what the Hart did, tooke the Hinde's boate and went to-

wards her, and when I came neere to them, they shot off two pieces of ordinance, which I marveiled at; I made as much haste as I could to her, and met her boate and skiffe comming from the shoare in all haste, and we met aboard together. They shewed me that they had beene ashoare all that day, and had given to the two sonnes of don John, to either of them, three yardes and a halfe of cloth, and three basons betwixt them, and had delivered him 3 yards of cloth more and the weight of an angell and 12 graines, and being on land did tarie for his answer, and in the meane time the Portugales came running from the hill upon them, whereof the negroes a litle before had given them warning, and bad them to go away, but they perceived it not. The sonne of don John conspired with the Portugales against them, so that they were almost upon them, but yet they rcovered their boate and set off from the shoare, and the Portugales shot their calievers¹ at them, but hurt no man, and then the shippe, perceiving it, shot off the two peeces aforesayde among them. Hereupon we layde bases in both the boates and in the skiffe, and manned them well, and went ashoare againe; but because of the winde, we could not land, but lay off in the sea about ten score, and shot at them, but the hill succoured them, and they from the rockes and from the hilles shotte at us with their half hakes², and the negroes more for feare then for love stode by them to helpe them; and when we saw that the negroes were in such subjection unto them that they durst not sell us anything for feare of them, we went aboard, and that night the winde kept at the east, so that we could not with our ship fetch the Hinde, but I tooke the boate in the night and went aboard the barke to see what was there to be done; and in the morning we perceived the towne to be in like case layde with Portugales, so we wayed and went along the coast. This

The Portugales of the castile c Mina i vaded i men.

¹ The caliver [Fr. *calibre*] appears to have been a light kind of musket orarquebus, introduced during the sixteenth century and originally of certain calibre. The lightest portable firearm, except the pistol, it could be discharged without a 'rest'.

² The 'hake' (possibly an abbreviated form of 'haquebut') was a short firearm used in the sixteenth century. John Cowell defined it in his *Interpreter* (1607) as 'a hand-gunne of about three quarters of a yard long'. The 'half-hake', or 'demi-hake' was shorter in length.

*The
towne of
Don John
de Viso.*

towne of John de Viso standeth upon an hill, like the towne of don John, but it hath beene burned, so that there are not passing sixe houses in it; the most part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the countrey, and no doubt if the people durst for feare of the Portugals bring forth their gold, there would be had good store; but they dare not sell anything, their subjection is so great to the Portugales. The 11 day, running by the shoare, we had sight of a litle towne, foure leagues from the last towne that we came from, and, about halfe a league from that, of another towne upon a hill, and halfe a league from that also of another great towne upon the shoare; whither we went to see what could there be done: if we could doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, because we thought that the Portugales would leave the towne upon our departure. Along from the castle unto this place are very high hilles, which may be seene above all other hilles, but they are full of wood, and great red cliffes by the sea side. The boates of these places are somewhat large and bigge, for one of them will carie twelve men, but their forme is alike with the former boates of the coast. There are about these townes few rivers; their language differeth not from the language used at don John's town; but every one can speake three or foure words of Portuguese, which they used altogether to us.

We sawe this night about 5 of the clocke 22 boates running along the shore to the westward, whereupon we suspected some knavery intended against us. The 12 day, therefore, we set sayle and went further along the coast, and descried more townes, wherein were greater houses then in the other townes, and the people came out of the townes to looke upon us, but we could see no boates. Two mile beyond the easternmost town are blacke rocks, which blacke rockes continue to the uttermost cape of the land, which is about a league off, and then the land runnes in east-north-east, and a sandy shoare againe; upon these blacke rockes came downe certaine negroes, which waved us with a white flagge, but we, perceiving the principall place to be neere, would not stay, but bare still along the shoare; and as soone as we had opened the point of the land, we raysed another headland about a league off the point, which had a rocke lying off it

into the sea, and that they thought to be the place which we sought. When we came thwart the place, they knew it, and we put wares into our boate, and the ship, being within halfe a mile of the place, ankered in five fadome water and faire ground. We went on shoare with our boate, and ankered about ten of the clocke in the forenoone; we saw many boates lying upon the shoare, and divers came by us, but none of them would come neere us, being as we judged afraid of us, because that foure men were taken perforce the last yeere from this place, so that no man came to us; whereupon we went aboard againe, and thought here to have made no saile; yet towards night a great sort came downe to the water side, and waved us on shoare with a white flagge, and afterwarde their captaine came downe, and many men with him, and sate him downe by the shore under a tree; which when I perceived, I tooke things with me to give him; at last, he sent a boat to call us, which would not come neere us, but made us signes to come againe the next day; but in fine, I got them to come aboard in offering them things to give to their captaine, which were two elles of cloth, one latten bason, one white bason, a bottle, a great piece of beefe, and sixe bisket cakes, which they received, making us signes to come againe the next day, saying that their captain was Grand Capitane as appeared by those that attended upon him with their darts and targets and other weapons.

*Foure
men take
away by
the
English.*

This towne is very great and stands upon a hill among trees, so that it cannot well be seene except a man be neere it; to the eastward of it upon the hill hard by the towne stand 2 high trees, which is a good marke to knowe the towne. And under the towne lieth another hill lower then it, whereupon the sea beates; and that end next the sea is all great blacke rockes, and beyonde the towne in a bay lieth another small towne.

*A great
towne.*

The 13 day in the morning, we tooke our boate and went to shoare, and stayed till ten a clocke, and no man came to us. We went about, therefore, to returne aboard, and when the negroes saw that, they came running downe with a flagge to wave us againe; so we ankered againe, and then one shewed us that the captaine would come downe by and by. We saw a saile in the

*The like
they doe
in the
countray
of Prete
Janni.*

meane time passe by us, but it was small, and we regarded it not. Being on shore, wee made a tilt with our oares and sayle, and then there came a boate to us with five men in her, who brought us againe our bottle, and brought me a hen, making signes by the sunne that within two houres the marchants of the countray would come downe and buy all that we had; so I gave them sixe manillios to carry to their captaine, and they made signes to have a pledge of us, and they would leave us another man; and we, willing to doe so, put one of our men in their boate, but they would not give us one of theirs, so we tooke our man againe, and there tarried for the marchants; and shortly after, one came downe arrayed like their captaine with a great traine after him, who saluted us friendly; and one of the chiefest of them went and sate under a tree, where the last yere the captaine was wont to sit; and at last we perceived a great many of them to stand at the ende of a hollow way, and behinde them the Portugales had planted a base, who suddenly shotte at us, but overshot us, and yet we were in a manner hard by them, and they shot at us againe before we could ship our oares to get away, but did no hurt. Then the negroes came to the rocks hard by us, and discharged calievers at us¹, and againe the Portugales shot off their base twise more, and then our ship shot at them, but the rockes and hilles defended them.

*Master
Robert
Gainshes
voyage to
Guinea in
anno
1554.*

Then we went aboard to goe from this place, seeing the negroes bent against us, because that the last yeere M. Gainsh did take away the captaine's sonne and three others from this place with their golde, and all that they had about them; which was the cause that they became friends with the Portugales, whom before they hated, as did appeare the last yeere by the courteous intertainment, which the Trinitie had there, when the captaine came aboard the shippe, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a castle in, and there they had good sales.

*The Eng-
lish were
offered to
build a
towne in
Guine.*

The 14 day, we wayed and plyed backe againe to seeke the Hinde, which in the morning we met, and so we turned both backe to the eastwardes to see what we could doe at that place,

¹ These negroes were probably Mina Blacks, trained by the Portugese to the use of arras.

where the Trinitie did sell her eight frises the last yeere. The Hinde had taken eighteene ounces and a halfe more of golde of other negroes, the day after that we left them. This day about one of the clocke, we espied certaine boates upon the sand and men by them, and went to them with marchandizes, and tooke three ounces of gold for 18 fuffs of cloth, every fuffe three yards and a halfe, after one angell and 12 graines the fuffe, and then they made me signes that the next day I should have golde enough; so the master tooke the Hinde with John Savill and John Make-worth, and went to seeke the place aforesaid, & I with Richard Pakeman remained in this place to see what we could do the next day; and when the negroes perceived our ship to go away, they feared that the other would follow, & so sent forth 2 boats to us with 4 men in them, requiring us to tary & to give them one man for a pledge, and 2 of them should tary with us for him. So Edward M. Morlei's servant, seeing these men so earnest therein, offered himselfe to be pledge, and we let him goe for two of them, one whereof had his waights and scales, and a chaine of golde about his necke and another about his arme. They did eate of such things as we had, and were well contented. In the night, the negroes kept a light upon the shoare thwart of us, and about one of the clocke we heard and saw the light of a base, which shot off twise at the said light, and by and by discharged two calievers, which in the end we perceived to be the Portugals' brigandine, which followed us from place to place, to give warning to the people of the countrey that they should not deale with us.

*A Portu-
gale brig-
andine.*

The 15 day in the morning, the captaine came downe with 100 men with him, and brought his wife, and many others brought their wives also, because their towne was 8 miles up in the countrey, and they determined to lie by the sea side till they had bought what they would. When he was come, he sent our man aboard, and required to have two men pledges, and he himselfe would come aboard, and I sent him two, of whom he tooke but one, and so came aboard us, he and his wife with divers of his friends, and brought me a goate and two great rootes, and I gave him againe a latten bason, a white bason, 6 manillios, and a bottle of Malmesie, and to his wife a small casket. After this, we

began to make our measure and weight; and he had a weight of his owne, which held one angell and 14 graines, and required a measure of 4 elles and a halfe. In fine, we concluded the 8 part for one angell and 20 graines, and before we had done they tooke mine owne weight and measure.

The 16 day, I tooke 8 li. 1 ounce of gold; and since the departure of the Hinde, I heard not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the first night, he said he saw her cast anker about five leagues from this place. The 17 day, I sold about 17 pieces of cloth, & tooke 4 li. 4 ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18 day, the captaine desired to have some of our wine, and offered halfe a ducket of gold for a bottell; but I gave it him freely, and made him and his traine drinke besides. And this day also I tooke 5 li. 5 ounces of gold. The 19 day, we sold about 18 clothes, and tooke 4 li. 4 ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20 day, we tooke 3 li. sixe ounces and a quarter of golde. The 21, we tooke 8 li. 7 ounces and a quarter; the 22, 3 li. 8 ounces and a quarter. And this night, about 4 of the clocke, the captaine, who had layen all this while upon the shoare, went away with all the rest of the people with him.

The 23 day, we were waved ashoare by other negroes, and sold them cloth, caskets, knives, and a dosen of bells, and tooke 1 li. 10 ounces of gold. The 24, likewise, we sold bells, sheetes, and thimbles, and tooke two li. one ounce and a quarter of gold. The 25 day, we sold 7 dosen of smal bells and other things, and then, perceiving their gold to be done, we wayed and set sayle & went to leeward to seeke the Hinde, and about 5 of the clocke at night we had sight of her, and bare with her, and understood that shee had made some sales. The 26 day, wee received out of the Hinde 48 li. 3 ounces and one eight part of golde, which they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day, upon the request of a negro that came unto us from a captaine, we went to shoare with our marchandize, and tooke 7 li. and one ounce of gold. At this place, they required no gages of us, but at night they sent a man aboard us, which lay with us all night, because we might knowe that they would also come to us the next day. The 27 day, in both our shippes we tooke 8 li. one ounce,

three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28, we made sales for the companie¹, and tooke one pound and halfe an ounce of gold. The 29 day in the morning, we heard two calievers shot off upon the shore, which we judged to be either by the Portugales or by the negroes of the Portugales²; we manned our boates and armed ourselves and went to shoare, but could finde nothing, for they were gone. The 30 day, we made more sales for the companie and for the masters.

The 31, we sent our boate to shoare to take in sand for balast, and there our men met the negroes, with whom they had made sale the day before, afishing, which did helpe them to fill sand, and having no gold, sold fish to our men for their handkerchiefes and nightkerchiefes.

The 1 day of February, we wayed and went to another place, and tooke 1 li. 9 ounces 3 quarters of gold. The 2 day, we made more sales; but having viewed our victuals, we determined to tarie no long time upon the coast, because the most part of our drinke was spent, & that which remained grew sowre. The 3 and 4 dayes, we made some sales, though not great, and finding the wind this 4 day to come off the shoare, we set saile and ranne along the shoare to the westwards; upon this coast we found by experience that ordinarily about 2 of the clocke in the night the winde comes off the shoare at north-north-east, and so continueth untill eight of the clocke in the morning; and all the rest of the day and night it comes out of the south-west; and as for the tide or currant upon this shore, it goeth continually with the winde. The 5 day, we continued sayling, and thought to have met with some English ships, but found none.

*Febru-
arie.*

*They re-
turne for
England.*

¹ The meaning of this phrase is not clear. It may refer to trade conducted for the benefit of the Guinea Company, or more probably to the private trade of individual members of the ship's company. One of the features of the Guinea trade was that each member of a ship's company was permitted to pursue a little trade on his own. Without this inducement, it is doubtful whether a full complement of mariners could always have been persuaded to go on such a dangerous voyage. As Ulrick Ellers, a Hamburg pilot, declared at the end of the sixteenth century with regard to the trade with the island of São Thomé, 'the shippers and mariners are suffered to lade some sinale quantities of goods for their owne accompts; otherwise theye would not serve on the said viadges' (PRO, HCA 13/36. 18/28 April 1603).

² Mina Blacks.

The sixth day, we went our course south-west to fetch under the line, and ranne by estimation 24 leagues.

The 13 day, wee thought ourselves by our reckoning to be cleare off the Cape das Palmas, and ranne 12 leagues.

Cape de Monte.

The 22 day, we were thwart of the Cape de Monte, which is to the westward of the river de Sestos about 30 leagues.

March.

The first day of March, in a ternado we lost the Hinde, whereupon we set up a light and shot off a piece, but could not heare of her; so that then we strooke our saile and taried for her, and in the morning had sight of her againe three leagues aterne off us.

Cape Verde in latitude 14 degree & a halfe.

Upon the 22 day, we found ourselves to be in the height of Cape Verde, which stands in 14 degrees and a halfe¹.

From this day till the 29 day, we continued our course, and then we found ourselves to be in 22 degrees. This day, one of our men called William King, who had bene long sicke, died in his sleepe, his apparell was distributed to those that lackt it, and his money was kept for his friends to be delivered them at his comming home.

The 30 day, we found ourselves to be under the tropike.

The 31 day, we went our course, and made way 18 leagues.

Aprill.

From the first day of Aprill to the 20, we went our course, and then found ourselves to be in the height of the Asores.

May.

The seventh day of May, we fell with the south part of Ireland, and going on shoare with our boate, had fresh drinke and two sheepe of the countrey people, which were wilde kernes², and we gave them golde for them, and bought further such other victuals as we had neede of, and thought would serve us till we arrived in England.

Their arrivall at Bristoll.

The 14 day, with the afternoone tide, we went into the port of Bristoll called Hungrode [King Road?], and there ankered in safetie and gave thanks to God for our safe arrivall.

¹ Actually 14° 33' N.

² Irish foot soldiers, lightly armed.

143. WILLIAM TOWERSON'S SECOND VOYAGE TO GUINEA.
1556-7¹.

The second voyage made by Maister William Towrson to the coast of Guinea, and the Castle of Mina, in the yeere 1556, with the Tiger of London, a ship of 120 tunnes, the Hart of London of 60 tunnes, and a Pinnesse of sixteene tunnes.

THE fourteenth day of September, the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Harwich², and directed our course for the Isle of Sillie [Scilly] to meete there with the Hart and pinnesse, which were rigged and victualed at Bristoll³; but arriving there the eight and twentieth day, we found them not, and, therefore, after long lying at hull to tarrie for them, but not espying them, we turned backe to Plimmouth the 12 day of October; and being there, the Hart and the pinnesse came to us, so that the 15 of November we all departed together from Plimmouth at one of the clocke in the afternoone, and the 28 day we had sight of the isle of Porto Santo, and the next day in the morning of Madera.

Novem-
ber.

The third day of December, we fell with the ile of Palma, and the 9 we were thwart of Cape Blanke, and found there certaine caravels fishing for pargoes.

Decem-
ber.

The 19, we found ourselves in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day we ranne thwart of certaine currants, which did set to the west-south-westward so fast as if it had bene the overfall of a sand, making a great noyse, like unto a streame or tide-gate when the water is shoale; and to proove whither we could finde

Sierra
Leona.

¹ Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, VI, 212-31.

² I have found one other instance of a ship setting off from Harwich to make the Guinea voyage during the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Early in 1571, John Garrett, a Plymouth mariner, was engaged in furnishing the *Castle of Comfort* with the necessary equipment and supplies for a voyage to Cape Verde at Harwich. He was to be master of the ship's company. He did not complete the voyage, however, because the Privy Council intervened to stop operations (PRO, HCA 13/18. 1 April 1571). Ships destined for Guinea generally sailed from west country ports.

³ Bristol merchants, among them being Giles White and Thomas Chester were actively engaged in fitting out ships to sail to Guinea during August and September 1556 (*APC, 1554-6*, pp. 322, 358).

ground in this place, we sounded and had 150 fadome and no ground, and so departed.

The 30 of December, we fell with the coast of Guinea, and had first sight of it about 4 leagues off. The best marke that we could take of the place to knowe it was three hilles, which lay north-east and by east from us; betwixt the nothermost two hilles there are two high and great trees standing in sight, as it were, a saile's breadth one from another, and a litle more to the north-westwards are certaine hommocks. Having sayled somewhat into the shoare, wee tooke ourselves to be shotte somewhat past the river de Sestos, so that we kept about to fetch it. And a litle after, we had sight of three sayles of shippes and two pinnesses, which were in the weather of us, and having sight of them, we made ourselves readie to meete them, and halled off our ships to fetch the winde as neere as we could; and having sayled about an houre or two, they also went about, and went, as we went, to make themselves readie, and when we had them in chase, they went away from us; but when they had made themselves readie, they kept about againe, and came with us verie finely appointed with their streamers, and pendants, and ensignes, and noyse of trumpets very bravely; so when we met, they had the weather of us, and we, being determind to fight, if they had bene Portugals, waved them to come under our lee, which they denied stoutly; then we demaunded of them whence they were, and they sayd of France. We told them againe that we were of London in England. They asked of us what Portugals wee had seene, we answered, none but fishermen; then they told us that there were certaine Portugall ships gone to the Mina to defend it, and that they met with another at the river de Sestos, which was a ship of two hundred, which they had burned, and had saved none but the master and two or three negroes, and certaine others which were sore burned, which they left ashore there. Then they desired to come aboard of us with their boates to talke with us, and wee gave them leave. Then the captaine of the admirall and divers others came aboard very friendly, desiring us to keepe them company, because of the Portugals, and to goe to the Mina with them; wee told them that we had not watered, and that we were but now fallen with

*The river
of Sestos.*

the coast, and they shewed us that we were fiftie leagues past the river de Sestos; notwithstanding, there was water enough to be had, and they would helpe us to water with their owne boats, because they would have our companie. And told us further that they had bene sixe weekes upon the coast, and had gotten but three tunnes of graines [malagueta pepper] amongst them all; and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that, although the Mina were cleare, yet if they did goe before us, they would marre our market; and if it were not cleare, then, if the Portugals were there and did take them, they would understand that we were behind, and so would waite for us. And further we made account that, if we went with them, we should doe as well as they, if the coast were cleare; if it were not cleare, then by them we were assured to be the stronger. Therefore, having considered thus much of their gentle offers, wee told them that the next day wee would conferre more largely of the matter. Whereupon, they desired me^r to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the masters of our ships with me, and such marchants as I thought good, promising to give us water out of their owne ships, if we would take it, or els to tarie with us and helpe us to water with their own boats and pinnasses.

They admit certaine Frenchmen into their companie.

The 31 day, in the morning, the admirall sent his boat aboard for me, and I tooke our masters and certaine of our marchants, and went to him, who had provided a notable banquet for us, and intreated us very friendly, desiring us still to keepe his company, promising that what victuals were in his ships, or other things that might doe us pleasure untill the end, we should have the one halfe of it, offering us, if we would, to furl his flags, and to bee at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende, we agreed to come to an anker, and to send our boat on shore with the admiral's boat, and one of his pinnasses, and an almaine, which they had brought out of France, to seeke water. As for our pinnasse, she came to an anker to seaward of us all, and would not come at us. All this night, the boats continued on shore.

^r This is the first definite indication that Towerson himself either dictated an account of his voyages to Hakluyt, or gave Hakluyt a journal or narrative of them written by himself.

The first day of January, our boats came to us againe, and had found no river. Whereupon, we weighed and set saile, and ankred againe at another river.

The 2 day, we went into the river and bargained, and tooke 5 small elephants' teeth.

The 3 day, we tooke 5 more.

*An
assault
upon ele-
phants.*

The fourth day, the French admirall and we tooke fifteene small teeth. This day, we tooke thirtie men with us and went to seeke elephants, our men being all well armed with harquebusses, pikes, long bowes, crossebowes, partizans [Fr. *partizane*, kind of halberd], long swordes, and swordes and bucklers; wee found two elephants, which wee stroke divers times with harquebusses and long bowes, but they went away from us and hurt one of our men. The fift day, we set saile and ranne along the coast.

*Rio de S.
Andre.*

The 6 day, we fell with the river de S. Andre, at which place the land is somewhat high to the westward of the river, and a faire baie also to the westward of it; but to the eastward of it, it is lowe land.

The 7 day, we went into the river and found no village, but certaine wild negros not accustomed to trade. It is a very great river and 7 fadome water in some places at the entring. Here we filled water, and after set saile.

The 8 day, we sailed along the shore and came to the red cliffes¹, and went forward in sailing the 9 day also.

*Captaine
Blundel,
the
French
admirall.*

The 10 day, we came together to confer with captaine Blundel, admiral of the French ships, Jerom Baudet, his vice admiral, and John de Orleans, master of a ship of 70 tunne, and with their marchants, and agreed that, when God should send us to any place where wee might make sale, that we should be of one accord and not one of us hurt the market of the other, but certaine of our boates to make the price for all the rest, and

¹ The line of red cliffs east of the Rio de São André [Sassandra river] was a well-known landmark to all navigators along the Ivory Coast during the sixteenth century. Pacheco called attention to it at the beginning of the century. He wrote (*Esmeraldo*, bk. 2, ch. 4): 'Three leagues beyond the Rio de S. André you find tall red cliffs along the coast, extending for four or five leagues; these lie east and west with respect to the river and are composed of very red clay and are the landmark for the said R. de S. André.'

then one boate to make sale for every shippe. This night, our boats, going to the shore, met with certaine negros, who said that they had gold, and therefore we here cast anker.

The 11 day, all the day we tooke but one halfe angel weight of 4 graines, which we tooke by hand, for the people of this place had no weight; the negros called this place Allow [Lahu?]. *Allow.*

The 12 day, we ran along the coast and found but one towne, but no boates would come out to us, and therefore we went our course.

The 13 day, I tooke my boat and went along the shore, and passed by divers small townes, and was waded to come on shore at 3 places; but the sea went so high upon the shore that it was not possible for us to land, neither could they come to us, if they had had boats, as I could see none but at one place, where there was one that would have come unto us, but the land-wash went so sore that it overthrew his boat, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried so sore that we might easily heare them, and they got his body out of the sea, and caried it amongst them to their towne.

The 14 day, we came within saker-shot of the castle, & straightway they set forth an almade [Port. *almadia*, canoe] to descry us, and when they perceived that we were no Portugals, they ranne within the towne againe; for there is a great towne by the castle, which is called by the negros Dondou. Without this, there lie two great rockes, like ilands, and the castle standeth upon a point, which sheweth almost like an iland. Before we came at this castle, we found the land for five or six leagues to be high land, and about seven leagues before we came to the castle, lowe land, until we came at the castle, and then wee found the land high againe. This castle standeth about five leagues to the east of Cape de Tres Puntas. Here I tooke the boate with our negros and ranne alongst the shore, till I came to the cape, and found two small townes, but no boates at them, neither any traffique to be had. At these places, our negros did understand them well, and one of them went ashore at all the places and was well received of them. This night, we ankred at the Cape de Tres Puntas.

*Dondou, a
great
towne.*

*The castle
of Mina.*

*Cape de
Tres
Puntas.*

The 15 day, I tooke our boat and went along the shore, &

about 3 leagues beyond the eastermost part of the cape we found a faire bay, where we ran in, and found a smal towne and certaine boates, which belonged to the same towne; but the negros in a long time would not come to us, but at the last by the perswasion of our owne negros, one boat came to us, and with him we sent George, our negro, ashore, and after he had talked with them, they came aboard our boates without feare, and I gave to their captaine a bason, and two strings of margarets, and they shewed us about 5 duckats' weight of gold, but they required so much for it that wee would not take it, because the Frenchmen and we had agreed to make price of our goods all in one boat, and the price being made, then every man to sell in his owne boat, and no man to give more then the price, which should be set by us al. This place is called Bulle, and here the negros were very glad of our negros, and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away, being now againe brought by us.

Bulle.

The negros here shewed us that a moneth since there were 3 ships, that fought together, & the two shippes put the other to flight; and before that, at the castle of Mina there were 4 ships of the Portugals, which met with one Frenchman, which Frenchman caused them all to flee, which shippe we tooke to be the Roebarge; for the Frenchmen of our company judged her to be thereabout that time with her pinnasse also. And further, that after her went a shippe of twelve score named the Shaudet all alone, and after her a ship of foure score, and both for the Mina. And there were two others also, which they left, one at Cape Verde, called the Leuriere, of Diepe, and another at the river de Sestos, besides these 3 which all this time be in our company, whose names be these:

The Espoier, of Hableneff [Havre], which is the admirall, whose captaine is Denis Blundell.

The Leuriere, of Roan, viceadmirall, whose master is Jerome Baudet.

The other is of Hunfleur, whose master is called John de Orleans.

The sixteenth day, I went along the shore with two pinnasses of the Frenchmen, and found a baie and a fresh river, and after

that went to a towne called Hanta¹, twelve leagues beyond the cape. At this towne, our negros were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for joy, when they saw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene; and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and should bee brought home the next voyage. So after this, our negros came aboard with other negros, which brought a weight with them, which was so small that wee could not give them the halfe of that which they demaunded for it. *Hanta.*

The negros here told us that there were five Portugall shippes at the castle and one pinnasse, and that the Portugals did much harme to their countrey, and that they lived in feare of them; and we told them againe that we would defend them from the Portugals, whereof they were glad.

The 17 day, we went ashore, and the Frenchmen with us, but did no great good, the negros were so unreasonable, we sold 80 manellios for one ounce of gold.

Then wee departed and went to Shamma [Samma], and went into the river with five boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noises of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to have found some Portugals, but there were none; so wee sent our negros on shore, and after them went divers of us, and were very well received, and the people were very glad of our negros, specially one of their brothers' wives, and one of their aunts, which received them with much joy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren; we comforted the captaine and told him that hee should not feare the Portugals, for wee would defend him from them; whereupon we caused our boats to shoote off their bases and harquebusses, and caused our men to come on shore with their long bowes, and they shot before the captaine, which he, with all the rest of the people, wondred much at, specially to see them shoot so farre as they did, and assaied to draw their bowes but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ships, for we looked every houre for the Portugals. *And here the negros shewed us that there was an English ship at the Mina, *Shamma.*

*The
negros
brought
home by
our men.*

**Note.*

¹ On the natives of Ahanta, see C. W. Welman, *The native states of the Gold Coast. II. Ahanta* (1930).

Robert
Gaynsh.

which had brought one of the negros againe, which Robert Gaynsh tooke away.

The 18 day, we went into the river with no lesse strength then before, and concluded with the negros to give them for every fuffe two yards and three nailes of cloth, and to take for it one angel-duckat; so that we tooke in all 70 duckats, whereof the Frenchmen had fortie and we thirtie.

The nineteenth day, wee went ashore every man for himselfe, and tooke a good quantitie of gold, and I for my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of gold, and our Harte's boate tooke one and twentie ounces. At night, the negros shewed us that the next day the Portugals would be with us by land or by sea; and when wee were ready to depart, we heard divers harquebusses shoote off in the woods by us, which wee knew to bee Portugals, which durst come no nearer to us, but shot off in the woods to see if they could feare us and so make us to leave our traffique.

Hanta.

The 20 day, we manned our five boats, and also a great boat of the Frenchmen's, with our men and the admiral's, 12 of them in their murrians [Span. *morrión*, a morion or open helmet] and corslets, and the rest all well appoynted, with foure trumpets, a drumme, and a fife, and the boate all hanged with streamers of silke and pendants very faire, and went into the river and traffiqued, our man-of-warre lying off and on in the river to waft us, but we heard no more of the Portugals. This day, the negros told us that there were certain ships come into Hanta, which towne is about 2 leagues to the westward of this place.

This 21 day, we manned our boats againe & went to a place a league from this to the westwards, and there found many negros with another captaine, and sold at the same rate that wee had done with the others.

The 22 day, we went ashore againe and traffiqued in like sort quietly, and I tooke 4 pound and six ounces of gold.

The 23 day, about night, the negros with their captaine came to us and told us that the king of Portugal's ships were departed from the castle, meaning the next day to plie to the windward to come to us, giving us warning to take heed to ourselves; we told them againe that wee were very glad of their comming, and

would be ready at all times to meet them, and to assure them that we were glad of it wee sounded our trumpets and shot off certaine bases, whereof the negros were very glad, and requested us that, if the Portugals sought to hinder our traffique, to shew them all the extremitie that we could, promising us that, if they came by land, they would advertise us thereof.

The 24, we went ashore with our trumpets and drummes, and traffiqued, and I bade the captaine of the towne to dinner.

The 25 day, we being ashore, our ships had descried five sailes of the king of Portugals, & our ships shot off ordinance to call us away; and we threw every man his caske ashore for water, and went to our ships, and by that time we had weighed and given order one to another what to do, it was night, so y^t that night nothing was done. We set saile and lay close all night to get the wind, if we could; we were neere some of them, and one shot off a piece, which wee judged to be the admirall of the Portugals, to cause the rest to come and speake with him; so all this night we made ourselves ready for fight.

Five sailes of Portugals descried.

The 26, we came in with the shore and had sight of the Portugals, where they rid at anker, and we bare with them, and we gave all our men white scarffes to the ende that the Frenchmen might know one the other, if we came to boording; but the night came upon us that we could not fetch them, but ankered within demie-culvering¹ shot of them.

The 27 day, we weighed, and so did the Portugals, and about eleven of the clocke wee had the wind of them, and then we went roome with them, which, when they perceived, they kept about to the shore againe, and wee after them; and when they were so neere the shore that they could not well runne any further on that boord, they kept about againe and lay to the seaward, and then we kept about with them, and were ahead of them, and tooke in our topsailes and taried for them; and the first that came up was a small barke, which sailed so well that she cared not for any of us, and caried good ordinance; and as soone as she came up, she shot at us, and overshot us, and then she shot at the admirall of the Frenchmen, and shot him through

The fight with the Portugals.

¹ A culverin (Fr. *coulevrine*) was a long type of cannon, so named from its snake-like length.

in two or three places, and went fourth ahead of us, because we were in our fighting sailes; then came up another caravell under our lee in like case, which shot at us and at the Frenchman, and hurt two of his men and shot him through the maine maste. And after them came up the admirall under our lee also, but he was not able to doe us so much harme as the small shippes, because he caried ordinance higher then they; neither were we able to make a good shot at any of them, because our shippe was so weake in the side that she laid all her ordinance in the sea; wherefore we thought to lay the great ship aboard, and as soone as the French admirall went roome with him, he fell asterne and could not fetch him, and after he fell asterne of two caravels more and could fetch none of them, but fell to leeward of them all; and when he was to leeward, he kept about to the shoreward, and left us, and then we put out our topsailes and gave them chase, and both the other Frenchmen kept the wind and would not come neere us, and our owne ship was asterne, so that she could not come to us; and after we had folowed them about two houres to the seaward, they kept about againe towards the shore, thinking to pay us as they went along by, and to have the wind of the French admirall, which before ran in towards the shore, and we kept about with them, and kept still the wind of them, thinking that our vice-admiral and the other would have folowed us, and wee willed them to do; but after that the Portugall was past by them, and everyone had shot at us and our vice-admirall, both our vice-admirall and the two Frenchmen & our owne pinnasse left us in the laps, and ran to seaward, and we ran still along and kept the wind of them to succour the French admirall, who was under all of their lees, and when they met with him, everyone went roome with him and gave him the broadside, and after they cast about againe and durst not boord him, because they sawe us in the weather of them, or els without doubt they had taken or sunke them, for three of them, which were the smallest, went so fast that it was not possible for a ship to boord them, and caried such ordinance that, if they had had the weather of us, they would have troubled 3 of the best ships that we had, and as for their admirall and vice-admirall, they were both notablie appointed.

*The
French
forsake
our men.*

When the Frenchman was cleare of them, hee laie as neere the winde as hee could, and wee followed them still towards the shore, and then the admirall ranne to sea after the rest, and left us all alone; and when the Portugals perceived that we were alone, and gave them chase, they kept about with us, and we with them to keepe the wind of them, and we ranne still within base shot of them, but they shot not at us, because we had the weather of them, and sawe that they could do us no hurt; and thus we folowed one another until night, and in the night we lost them, but as for all the rest of our ships, they packed on all the sailes that they could and ranne to sea, and as they themselves confesse, they praied for us, but as for helpe at their hands we could have none.

The 28 day, we met with our vice-admirall, our pinnasse, and two of the Frenchmen, and the third was fled, which was a ship of four score tunne and belonged to Roan; and when I had the sight of the rest of our ships, I tooke our skiffe and went to them to know why they lost us in such a case, and John Kire made me answeere that his ship would neither reare nor steere, and as for the pinnasse, John Davis made me answeere that she would doe nothing, and that he could cary her no further, for her rudder was broken, so that the Hart was glad to towe her. Then I went to the French admirall, and found himselfe to be a man of good stomacke, but the one halfe of his men were sicke and dead; and then I talked with the smaller Frenchman, and he made mee answeere that he could doe nothing, saying that his ship would beare no saile, and had 16 of his men dead and sicke, so he made us plaine answeere that he was able to doe nothing. After this, the Frenchmen durst not anker for feare of the Portugales.

The 29 day, the master of the pinnasse came to us and sayd that they were not able to keepe her any longer, and then wee viewed her, and seeing there was no remedie, her rudder with all the iron worke being broken both aloft and belowe, wee agreed to breake her up and to put the men into the Hart. So we tooke out of her foure bases, one anker, and certaine fire wood, and set her on fire, and afterwards ran along the coast.

The thirtie day, we went in to the shore, and spake with cer-

taine negros, who told us that some French shippes had bene there, but wee could not bargaine with them, they were so unreasonable.

The 31 day, I went to shore but did not traffike.

*ebru-
ie.*

The 1 day of Februarie, we weighed, seeing we could not bring the negros to any reason, and came to another place which standeth upon an hill.

The third day, I went to a towne foure leagues from us, and shot off two pieces, and the captaine came to us, and I sent Thomas Rippen aland, who knew the captaine; and as soone as he came on shore, the captaine knew him, and divers of the negros, who then began to aske for mee, and having told the captaine that I was in the boate, hee made no longer tarying, but by and by caused two boates to be put to the sea, and came to me himselfe; and when he sawe me, he cryed to me before hee came to the boat, and seemed to be the gladdest man alive, and so did all the companie that knew mee, and I gave him a reward, as the maner of the countrey is, and caused the Frenchmen to give another, promising the next day to give him wine; and that night, because it was late, he would not talke of any price, but left me a pledge, and tooke another of me, and so departed.

The 4 day, going on shore, I found that the ships of France, which had bin there, had done much hurt to our markets, but yet I tooke five ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day, I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of gold; but I saw that the negros perceived the difference in cloth betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better and broader then ours; and then I told captaine Blundel that I would goe to the leeward, because I perceived that, being there where his cloth was sold, I should do no good, whereof hee was sorie.

The 6 day, there came an almade & negros aboard me, requesting me to come to their towne, for they had much gold and many marchants; and so I went and found their old captaine gone, and another in his place; but this night wee did no good, because the marchants were not come downe¹; so he

¹ I.e. no merchants had come down from the inland country.

required a pledge, which I let him have, and tooke another of him.

The 7 day, George, our negro, came to us, who had followed us at the least 30 leagues in a small boat, and when he came, the negros and we soone concluded of price. I tooke this day five pound and one ounce and 3 quarters of gold. This negro we had left at Shamma at the time of the fight, who said that he saw the fight, being on shore, and that when we were gone from the Portugals, the Portugals came into their river, and told them that the Englishmen had slaine two Portugals with a piece, which was indeed out of our ship, and they required harbour there, but the captaine of Shamma would not suffer them. *George our negro.*

The 8 day, we tooke nineteene pound three ounces and a halfe. *Two Portugals slaine by the English.*

The 9 day, we tooke two pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 10 day, threepound.

The 11 day, came to us Jerome Bawdet, the vice-admirall of the Frenchmen, and his pinnasse, and he shewed us that where we left them there was no good to be done, and sayd he would goe to the eastward, but wee told him hee should not; and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his company, which he was appointed to bee with, which hee refused to doe, untill wee had shot three or foure pieces at their pinnasse, and when the ship sawe that, she kept about, and ranne to seaward, and durst come no neerer to us, so the pinnasse went after her. We tooke this day one pound five ounces. *The Frenchmen bridled by the English.*

The 12 day, there came one of the Frenchmen's pinnasses to us laden with cloth, and would have made sale, but I would not suffer him, and therefore tooke him and sent him aboard of our ship, and caused him to ride there all day. We tooke five pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 14 day, we tooke of some negros 4 ounces of gold.

The 16 day, we came to another towne.

The 17 day, I went ashore and understood that 3 of the Portugall ships were at the castle and the other two at Shamma. The captaine of this towne was gone to the principall towne to speake with their king, and would returne shortly, as they told me; and so he did, and brought me a weight and measure, and

I sent a man to see that principall towne, and their king. The Portugall ships rid so neere us that within 3 houres they might be with us, yet were all contented to tary for sales.

The 18 day, certaine of the king's servants came to us, and we tooke one pound two ounces and one eight part of gold.

The 10 day, we tooke five pound one ounce.

The 20 day, one pound and foure ounces.

The 21, I tooke foure pound and one ounce, and the negroes enquired for fine cloth, and I opened two pieces which were not fine enough, as they sayd, but seeing that we had no other, they bought of them. At night, I provided a gift, or present, and sent one marchant and a mariner with it to the king to certifie him of our want of victuals, by reason whereof we could not stay long; for indeed we searched our ship, and the most part of our beere was leaked out of all our barrells.

The 22 day, we tooke three ounces and a halfe.

*King
Abaan.*

*The offer
of the king
to the
English to
build a
fort.*

The 23, our men came from the king Abaan, and told us that he had received them very friendly, but he had litle gold, but promised, if we would tary, to send into all his countrey for gold to our king to send men and provision into his countrey to build a castle, and to bring tailors with them to make them apparell and good wares, and they should be sure to sell them; but for that present the Frenchmen had filled them full of cloth.

*A towne
in circuit
as big as
London.*

This towne standeth about foure leagues up in the land, and is, by the estimation of our men, as big in circuit as London, but the building is like to the rest of the countrey. They have about this towne great store of the wheate of the countrey, and they judge that on one side of the towne there were one thousand rikes of wheate, and another sort of corne which is called mill, which is much used in Spaine. About this towne, they keepe good watch every night, and have to warne the watchmen certaine cordes, made fast over their wayes, which lead into the towne, and certaine bells upon them, so that if any man touch the cordes, the bells ring, and then the watchmen runne forth of their watch houses to see what they be; and if they be enemies, if they passe the cord, they have provision with certaine nets hanged over the wayes, where they must passe, to let fall upon

*A prettie
devise to
descrie the
emie.*

them and so take them, and otherwise then by the wayes it is not possible to enter the towne, by reason of the thicketts and bushes, which are about the same, and the towne is also walled round about with long cords, and bound together with sedge and certaine barkes of trees.

When our men came to the towne, it was about five of the clock in the morning, for there they travell alwayes in the night by reason of the heate of the day; and about nine of the clocke, the king sent for them, for there may no man come to him before he be sent for, and then they would have caried their present with them; but the negros told them that they must bee three times brought before him, before they might offer their gift; and when they came to him, he talked with them, and received them very friendly, and kept them about halfe an houre, and then they departed, and after that sent for them againe three times, and last of all they brought him their present, which he received thankfully, and then caused a pot of wine of palme to be brought foorth, and made them drinke; and before they drinke, both here and in all the countrey, they use certaine ceremonies.

The king's friendly entertainment of our men.

First, they bring foorth their pot of drinke, and then they make a hole in the ground & put some of the drinke into it, and they cast the earth upon it, which they digged forth before, and then they set the pot upon the same; then they take a litle thing made of a goord, and with that they take out of the same drinke, and put it upon the ground in three places, and in divers places they have certaine bunches of the pils of palme trees set in the ground before them, and there they put in some drinke, doing great reverence in all places to the same palme trees.

Their ceremonies in drinking.

All these ceremonies first done, the king tooke a cup of gold, and they put him in wine, and hee dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, 'Abaan, Abaan,' with certaine other words, like as they cry commonly in Flanders upon the Twelwe night, 'The kinning drinks'; and when he had drunke, then they gave drinke to everyone, and that done, the king licensed them to depart, and everyone that departeth from him boweth 3 times towards him, and waveth with both hands together, as they bow, and then do depart. The king

hath commonly sitting by him 8 or 10 ancient men with gray beards.

This day, we tooke one pound and 10 ounces of gold.

The 24 day, we tooke 3 pound and 7 ounces.

The 25, we tooke 3 ounces and 3 quarters.

The 26, we tooke 2 pound and 10 ounces.

The 27, two pound and five ounces.

The 28, foure pound, and then seeing that there was no more gold to be had, we weighed and went forth.

Mowre. The first day of March, we came to a towne called Mowre, but we found no boats nor people there; but, being ready to depart, there came two almades to us from another towne, of whom we tooke two ounces and a halfe of golde; and they tolde us that the negroes, that dwelled at Mowre, were gone to dwell at Lagova [Laguy].

Lagova.
They
returne.

The second day, we came thwart of the castle, and about two leagues off, and there saw all the five Portugall ships at anker, and this day by night we fetched Shamma.

Ships of
Portugall. The third day, we had sight of one tall ship of about two hundred tunnes in the weather of us, and within lesse then two leagues of our ships, and then we saw two more asterne of her, the one a ship of five hundred or more, and the other a pinnesse; and these were a new fleet at that present arrived out of Portugall. Whereupon we wayed, and made shift to double out of the land, and then the winde comming to the south-south-west, the Hart, going roome with them, fell three leagues to the leewards of us. These Portugals gave us the chase from nine of the clocke in the morning till five at night, but did no good against us. At last, we, perceiving the admirall to be farre asterne of his company, because his maine topmast was spent, determined to cast about with them againe, because we were sure to weather them, and the winde being as it was, it was our best course; but the Hart was so farre to the leeward that we could not doe it, except we would lose her company, so that we tooke in some of our sailes and went roome with him; which, when he perceived, he looffed to, and was able to lie as neere as he did before. At night, when we came to him, he would not speake to us; then we asked of his company why he went so roome; and they made

excuse that they were able to beare no saile by, for feare of bearing their foretopmast overboard; but this was a simple excuse.

The fourth day, being put from our watring place, we began to seethe our meat in salt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer; and so concluded to set our course thence for our owne country.

The 12 of March, I found myselve thwart of Cape das Palmas.

The 16 day, we fell with the land, which we judged to be the Cape Mensurado, about which place is very much high land.

The 18 day, we lost sight of the Hart, and I thinke the willful master ran in with the shore of purpose to lose us, being offended that I tolde him of his owne folly.

*Cape
Mensu-
rado.*

The 27 day, we fell in sight of two small ilands, which lie by our reckoning sixe leagues off the headland of Sierra Leona; and before we came in sight of the same ilands, we made our reckoning to be forty or thirty leagues at the least off them. Therefore, all they that saile this way are to regard the currents which set north-north-west, or els they may be much deceived.

*Two
small
ilands by
Sierra
Leona.
Note.*

The 14 of Aprill, we met with two great ships of Portugall, which, although they were in the weather of us, yet came not roome with us, whereby we judged that they were bound for Calicut.

The 18 day, we were in the heighth of Cape Verde.

The 24, we were directly under the tropike of Cancer.

The first day of May, Henry Wilson, our steward, died; and the next day died John Underwood.

The fift day, we were in the heighth of S. Michael.

The 23, we had sight of a shippe in the weather of us, which was a Frenchman of 90 tunne, who came with us as stoutly and as desperately as might be, and comming neere us, perceived that we had bene upon a long voyage, and judging us to be weake, as indeed we were, came neerer to us, and thought to have layed us aboard, & there stept up some of his men in armour and commanded us to strike saile; whereupon, we sent them some of our stufte, crossebarres, and chaineshot, and arrowes, so thicke that it made the upper worke of their shippe flie about their eares, and we spoiled him with all his men, and toare his shippe miserably with our great ordinance, and then

*A French
bravado.*

he began to fall aterne of us, and to packe on his sailes, and get away; and we, seeing that, gave him foure or five good pieces more for his farewell; and thus we were rid of this Frenchman, who did us no harme at all. We had aboard us a Frenchman, a trumpetter, who, being sicke and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithstanding, and sounded till he could sound no more, and so died.

The 28, we conferred together, and agreed to go into Severne, and so to Bristoll, but the same night we had sight of the Lizard, and by reason of the winde we were not able to double the lands end to go into Severne, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

The 29 day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arrived safely in Plimmouth, and praised God for our good arrivall.

144. ORDER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO STOP WILLIAM TOWERSON SAILING TO GUINEA A THIRD TIME. 22 JANUARY 1558¹.

. . . A lettre to the mayour and his brethern of Plymouth to stay there the Mynion, the Tygre and the Christofer Bennet, presently being in that havon, and all other shipps of that towne, being eyther presently there or that shall come thither hereafter, untyll the quenes majestie's pleasure he signified unto them herein.

145. WILLIAM TOWERSON'S THIRD VOYAGE TO GUINEA. 1558².

The third and last voyage of M. William Towrson to the coast of Guinie and the Castle de Mina in the yeere 1577³.

THE thirtieth day of January the yeere abovesayd, we departed out of the Sound of Plimmouth with three ships and a pinnesse, whereof the names are these: 1. The Minion, admirall of the fleet; 2. The Christopher, vice-

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1556-8*, p. 247.

² Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, vi, 231-52.

³ A misprint in the 1598-9 edition of Hakluyt for 1557. The error was reproduced in the MacLehose edition of 1904, from which this text has been taken. The correct date, 1557, appears in the 1589 Hakluyt. Towerson's ships set out from Plymouth on 30 January 1557/8.

admirall; 3. The Tyger; 4. A pinnesse called the Unicorne; being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence by the grace of God to the coast of Guinie.

The next day, being the last of this moneth, we met with two hulks of Dantzick, the one called the Rose, a ship of foure hundred tunnes, and the other called the Unicorne, of an hundred and fifty tunnes; the master of the Rose was called Nicholas Masse, and the master of the Unicorne Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and for the most part with wines. When we came to them, we caused them to hoise foorth their boats and to come and speake with us, and we examined everyone of them apart, what Frenchmens' goods they had in their shippes, and they sayd they had none; but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the suspicion which we gathered of their false chartar-parties, we perceived that they had Frenchmens' goods in them; we therefore caused one of them to fetch up his bills of lading, and, because he denied that he had any, we sent certaine with him, who caused him to goe to the place where he had hid them, and by the differences of his billes of lading and his talke, we gathered, as before, that they had Frenchmens' goods. Whereupon, we examined them straightly, and first the purser of the Unicorne, which was the smaller shippe, confessed that they had two and thirty tunnes and a hogshead of a Frenchmans. Then, we examined the master in like case, and he acknowledged the same to be true. Then, we examined also the master of the great ship, and he confessed that he had an hundred and eight and twenty tunnes of the same Frenchmans, and more they would not confesse, but sayd that all the rest was laden by Peter Lewgues of Hamburg to be delivered to one Henry Summer of Camphire, notwithstanding all their letters were directed to Hamburg, and written in Dutch without, and within in French.

When they had confessed that they had thus much Frenchmens' goods within their shippes, we conferred together what was best to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion that it should be good either to

It is to be understood that at this time there was warre betwixt England and France¹.

¹ The Marian government of England was induced by King Philip II of Spain to declare war on France on 7 June 1557.

carry them into Spaine, and there to make sale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into England with them, if the winde would permit it. But I, waying what charge we had of our masters, first by mouth and afterwards by writing, that for no such matter we should in any case prolong the time for feare of losing the voyage, and considering that the time of the yeere was very farre spent, and the money that we should make of the wines not very much, in respect of the commodity which we hoped for by the voyage, perswaded them that to goe into Ireland, the winde being easterly as it was, might be an occasion that we should be locked in there with that winde, and so lose our voyage; and to cary them into Spaine, seeing they sailed so ill that, having all their sailes abroad, we kept them company onely with our foresailes and without any toppe sailes abroad, so that in every two dayes sailing they would have hindered us more then one; and besides that (the winde being easterly), we should not be able to seaze the coast with them; besides all this, the losse of time when we came thither was to be considered, whereupon I thought it not good to carry them any further.

And as for carying them into England, although the winde had bene good, as it was not, considering what charge we had of our masters, to shift us out of the way for feare of a stay by reason of the warres, I held it not in any wise convenient.

But notwithstanding all this, certeine of our company, not being herewith satisfied, went to our master to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine answere that to cary them into any place it was not the best way nor the profit of their masters. And he tolde them further that, if the time were prolonged one moneth longer, before they passed the cape, but a few men would go the voyage. All these things considered, we all paused, and determined at the last, that every man should take out of the hulks so much as he could well bestow for necessaries, and the next morning to conclude what should be further done with them. So we tooke out of them for us foureteene tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinnesse.

More we tooke out one hogshhead of aquavitæ.

¹ French troops occupied Calais on 8 January 1558.

Sixe cakes of rozzen.

A small halser for ties; and certeine chesnuts.

The Christopher tooke out,

Ten tunnes of wine and one hogshhead.

A quantity of aquavitæ.

Shall-lines.

Chesnuts.

Sixe double bases with their chambers. And their men broke up the hulks' chests, and tooke out their compasses and running glasses, the sounding leade and line, and candles; and cast some of their beefe overboard, and spoiled them so much that of very pity we gave them a compasse, a running glasse, a lead and a line, certaine bread and candles, and what apparell of theirs we could finde in their ship we gave them againe, and some money also of that which William Crompton tooke for the ransome of a poore Frenchman, who, being their pilot downe the river of Bordeaux, they were not able to set him ashore againe by reason of the foule weather.

The Tyger also tooke out of the smaller hulke sixe or seven tunnes of wine, one hogshhead of aquavitæ, and certeine rozzen, and two bases he tooke out of the great hulke.

The first day of February in the morning, we all came together againe, saving W. Crompton, who sent us word that he was contented to agree to that order which we should take.

Now Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not best to let the ships depart but put men into them to cary them into England, which thing neither we nor our master would agree unto, because we thought it not good to unman our ships, going outward, considering how dangerous the time was; so that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and give them the rest of the wine, which they had in their ships of the Frenchmens, for the freight of that which we had taken, and for their ordinance, rozzen, aquavitæ, chesnuts and other things, which the company had taken from them. So we received a bill of their handes that they confessed how much Frenchmens' goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 10 day, we reckoned ourselves to be 25 leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about nine of the clocke our pin-

nesse brake her rudder, so that we were forced to tow her at the sterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the rest of our ships. About eleven of the clocke this day we had sight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11 day, when we came to the iland, we perceived that it was the ile of Tenerif, & then indeed we had sight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12 leagues to the eastwards of Tenerif; and, because the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinnesse, having the winde large, we agreed to go with the Grand Canarie.

The 12 day, we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lieth one league from the same towne. And after we had shot off divers pieces of ordinance to salute the towne and the castle, the governour and captaines of the iland sent to us which were the captaines of the ships, requiring us to come ashore. And when we came to them, they received us very frendly, offering us their owne jennets to ride to the towne, and what other friendship they could shew us; and we went to the towne with two English marchants, which lay there, and remained in their house that day. The second day following, we came aboard to deliver our marchandise, and to get our pinnesse mended.

The 14 day, came into the road the Spanish fleet which was bound to the emperour's Indies, which were in number nineteene saile, whereof sixe were ships of foure hundred and five hundred apiece, the rest were of two hundred, an hundred and fifty, and of an hundred. When they were come to an ancre, they saluted us with ordinance, and so we did them in like case. And afterwards the admirall (who was a knight) sent his pinnesse to desire me to come to him; and, when I came to him, he received me friendly, and was desirous to heare somewhat of the state of England and Flanders. And after he had made me a banquet, I departed; and I being gone unto the boat, hee caused one of his gentlemen to desire Francisco the Portugall², which was my interpreter, to require me to furl my flagge, declaring that hee was generall of the emperour's fleet. Which thing (being come aboard) Francisco shewed me; and, because I refused to

*Two
English
marchants
ligiers¹ in
the Grand
Canary.*

*The
Spanish
West
Indian
fleet of
nineteene
saile.*

¹ Obsolete form of 'ledger', a resident commercial agent.

² Francisco Rodrigues, who accompanied Windham in 1553.

furle it, and kept it fourth still, certaine of the souldiers in the ships shot divers harquebush shot about the ship and over the flagge; and at the same time there came certeine gentlemen aboard our ship to see her, to whom I sayd that, if they would not cause those their men to leave shooting, I would shoot the best ordinance I had thorow their sides. And when they perceived that I was offended, they departed, and caused their men of warre and souldiers to shoot no more, and afterwards they came to me againe and tolde me that they had punished their men. That done, I shewed them the ship, and made them such cheere as I could, which they received very thankfully; and the day following, they sent for mee to dine with them, and sent me word that their general was very sory that any man should require me to furle my flagge, and that it was without his consent; and therefore he requested me not to thinke any ungentlemesse to be in him, promising that no man of his should misdemeane himselfe.

The 17 day, we set saile in the road of Grand Canarie, and proceeded on our voyage.

The 20, in the morning, we had sight of the coast of Barbarie, and running along the shore, we had sight of Rio del Oro, which lieth almost under the tropike of cancer. *Rio del Oro.*

The 21 day, we found ourselves to be in 20 degrees and a halfe, which is the heigth of Cape Blank.

The 25, we had sight of the land in the bay to the northward of Cape Verde.

The 26, I tooke Francisco and Francis Castelin¹ with me, and went into the pinnesse, and so went to the Tyger, which was neerer the shore then the other ships, and went aboard her, and *Francis Castelin.*

¹ I have not succeeded in identifying Francis Castlyn, who is clearly a member of the famous Castlyn family, and his presence on this voyage indicates that Edward Castlyn was one of the promoters of Towerson's third voyage to Guinea. An excellent opportunity exists for the keen student to trace the history of the Castlyn family during the sixteenth century. An investigation of their trading activities, during the reigns of Heury VII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, would throw much light upon the history of the growth and expansion of English overseas commerce. The family was prominently associated in the development of English trade with the Mediterranean, the Iberian peninsula, the Azores and the Canaries, Barbary and Guinea. William Castlyn, a member of the company of the merchants

Cape
Verde.

Foure
ilands.

A great
trade of

with her and the other ships we ranne west and by south, and west-south-west, untill about foure of the clocke, at which time we were hard aboard the cape, and then we ran in south-west; and beyond the cape about foure leagues we found a faire iland [Goree iland], and besides that two or three ilands, which were of very high rocks, being full of divers sorts of sea-foule and of pigeons with other sorts of land-foules, and so many that the whole iland was covered with the dung thereof, and seemed so white as if the whole iland had bene of chalke; and within those ilands was a very faire bay, and hard aboard the rocks eightcene fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceived the bay, and understanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there¹, which we were desirous to know, we came to an ancre with the

adventurers, and his brother James, were trading with Italy, the Levant, Spain, Portugal and the Azores during the years 1528-30 (PRO, HCA 13/3 and 4, *passim*). Edward Castlyn engaged in trade with Spain, the Canaries, Guinea, and even in the transatlantic slave trade, during the middle of the century. Towards the end of the century, the family tradition had been handed on to Thomas and John Castlyn (e.g. see PRO, HCA 13/22. 22 May 1576; HCA 13/23. 11 Feb. 1576/7).

¹ The interloping trade on the African mainland in the region of Cape Verde was mainly in French hands during a great part of the sixteenth century. French ships began to visit the cape and the surrounding country shortly after the accession of King Francis I (1515), for the latter encouraged his subjects to attempt hazardous maritime enterprises. The first visitations were piratical. It is recorded that in 1527 a Breton corsair raided Portuguese shipping off the cape (L. Estancelin, *Recherches sur les voyages des navigateurs normands en Afrique* (1832), p. 245), and there are many other records to show how the plundering activities of French corsairs continued with little interruption throughout the rest of the century. Moreover, as French pilots became more familiar with the navigational peculiarities of the African seas, they began to open up a regular trade along the coast north and south of Cape Verde. French merchants who were engaged in trade with Barbary, Guinea and Brazil made use of the cape both as a rendezvous and as a base for operations on the coast. The volume of trade rapidly increased in the middle years of the century, despite direct and indirect efforts by the Portuguese to exclude the French as interlopers, and even their rivals came to admit that the French enjoyed special favour among the negro chiefs, who inhabited the coastal districts near the cape. When in January 1567 some Englishmen put into Cape Verde, they found that 'Frenchmen were very welcome to the negroes' (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, vi, 273-4). Nearly thirty years after, the French were still supreme. In 1592, another Englishman wrote that 'the Frenshe have had trafficke upon that coaste above thirtie yeares' (PRO, HCA 24/59, no. 20). They were suddenly displaced by the English during the last years of the century.

Tyger. And after that, the Minion and the Christopher ancred in like case. Then we caused the pinnesse to runne beyond another cape of land [Cape Gaspar?] to see if there were any place to trade in there.

*the
French-
men at
Cape
Verde.*

It being neere night, I tooke our cocke and the Tyger's skiffe, and went to the iland, where we got certaine foules like unto gannards [gannets]; and then I came aboard againe and tooke two of the gannards, which we had taken, and caried them to the captaine of the Christopher, and, when I had talked with him, I found him not willing to tary there, neither was I desirous to spend any long time there, but onely to attempt what was to be done. The master of the Christopher tolde me he would not tary, being not bound for that place.

The 27, the captaine of the Tyger and Edward Selman came to me, and John Makeworth from the Christopher, and then we agreed to take the pinnesse & to come along the shore, because that where we rid no negros came to us, and the night before our pinnesse brought us word that there was a very faire iland. And when I came beyond the point, I found it so, and withall a goodly bay, and we saw upon the maine certaine negros, which waved us on shore, and then we came to an ancre with the pinnesse, and went ashore with our cocke, and they shewed us where their trade was, and that they had elephants' teeth, muske, & hides, and offered us to fetch downe their captaine, if we would send a man with them, and they would leave a pledge for him. Then we asked them when any ship had bene there, and some of them sayd not in eight moneths, others in sixe moneths, and others in foure, and that they were Frenchmen.

*A faire
iland
where the
French
trade.*

*Ele-
phants'
teeth,
muske
and hides.*

Then we, perceiving the Christopher not willing to tary, departed from them & set saile with the pinnesse and went aboard the Tyger.

The 10 day of March, we fell with the coast of Guinea, five leagues to the eastward of Cape de Monte, beside a river called Rio das Palmas.

*Cabo de
Monte.*

The 11, we went to the shore, and found one man that could speake some Portuguese, who tolde us that there were three French ships passed by, one of them two moneths past, and the

other one moneth past. At this place I received nineteene elephants' teeth and two ounces and halfe a quarter of golde.

*iver
stos.*

The 12, we set saile to go to the river de Sestos.

The 13, at night we fell with the same river.

The 14 day, we sent in our boats to take water, and romaged our shippes, and delivered such wares to the Christopher and Tyger as they had need of.

The 15, we came together, and agreed to send the Tyger to another river to take in her water, and to see what she could do for graines. After that, we tooke marchandise with us and went into the river, and there we found a negro, which was borne in Lisbon, left there by a ship of Portugal, which was burned the last yere at this river in fighting with three Frenchmen; and he told us further that two moneths past there were three Frenchmen at this place; and sixe weeks past there were two French ships at the river; and fifteene dayes past there was one. All which ships were gone towards the Mina. This day we tooke but few graines.

The 19 day, considering that the Frenchmen were gone before us, and that by reason of the unwholesome aires of this place foure-teene of our men in the Minion were fallen sicke, wee determined to depart and with all speed to go to the Mina.

The 21, wee came to the river de Potos, where some of our boats went in for water, and I went in with our cocke and tooke 12 small elephants' teeth.

The 23 day, after we had taken as many teeth as we could get, about nine of the clocke we set saile to go towards the Mina.

The 31, we came to Hanta, and made sale of certaine manillios.

*ie
zile
gals.*

The first Aprill, we had sight of five saile of Portugals, whereupon we set saile and went off to sea to get the winde of them, which wee should have had, if the winde had kept his ordinary course, which is all the day at the south-west, and west-south-west; but this day with a flaw it kept all the day at the east, and east-south-east, so that the Portugals had the winde of us, and came roome with the Tyger and us untill night, and brought, themselves all, save one which sailed not so well as the rest, within shot of us. Then it fell calme, and the winde came up to the south-west, howbeit it was neere night, and the Christopher,

by meanes of her boat, was about foure leagues to the leewards of us. We tacked and ranne into the weather of the admirall and three more of his company, and, when we were neere him, we spake to him, but he would not answer. Then we cast about and lay in the weather of him; and, casting about, he shot at us, and then wee shot at him, and shot him foure or five times thorow. They shot divers times thorow our sailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinnesse, because it was night, kept out their sailes & would not meddle with them. After we had thus fought together 2 houres or more, and would not lay him aboard, because it was night, we left shooting one at the other, and kept still the weather of them. Then the Tyger and the pinnesse kept about and came to us, and afterward, being neere the shore, wee three kept about and lay to the sea, and shot off a piece to give warning to the Christopher. *The fight.*

This night about 12 of the clocke, being very litle winde, and the master of the Tyger asleepe, by the ill worke of his men the ship fel aboard of us, and with her sheare-hooks cut our maine-saile, and her boat, being betwixt us, was broken and suncke with certaine marchandise in her, and the ship's wales were broken with her outleger [outrigger]; yet in the ende we cleared her without any more hurt, but she was in hazzard to be broken downe to the water.

The second day, we had sight of the Christopher, and were neere unto her, so that I tooke our boat and went to her. And when I came thither, they shewed me that, after the Portugals had left us, they went all roome with him, and about twelve-a-clocke at night met him, and shot at him, and hee at them, and they shot him thorow the sailes in divers places, and did no other great hurt. And when we had understood that they had benee with him as well as with us, we agreed altogether to seeke them (if wee might finde them) and keepe aweather our places of traffique.

The third day, we ran all day to the south-westwards to seeke the Portugals, but could have no sight of them, and halled into the shore.

The fourth day, when we had sight of land, we found that the currant had set us thirty leagues to the eastwards of our

reckoning, which we woondered at; for the first land we made was *Lagua*. Then I caused our boat to be manned, and the Christopher's also, and went to the shore and tooke our negro with us. And on shore we learned that there were *Perinnen*. foure French ships upon the coast, one at *Perinnen*, which is six leagues to the westward of *Lagua*, another at *Weamba* [Winneba], which is foure leagues to the estward of *Lagua*, a third at *Perecow* [Barracoe], which is foure leagues to the eastward of *Weamba*, and the fourth at *Egrand*, which is foure leagues to the eastward of *Perecow*.

When we had intelligence of these newes, we agreed to go to the eastwards with the Frenchmen to put them from their traffique, and shot off two or three pieces in our boats to cause the ships to way; and having bene about one houre under saile, we had sight of one of the Frenchmen under saile, halling off from *Weamba*, to whome we gave chase, and agreed in the night for feare of overshooting them that the *Minion* should first come to ancre, and after that about three houres the *Tyger* and the *Christopher* to beare along all night.

The 5 day, we found three of the French ships at ancre, one called *La foye de Honfleur*, a ship of 220 tunnes, another called the *Ventereuse* or small *Roebarge* of *Honfleur*, of 100 tunnes, both appertaining to *Shawdet* of *Honfleur*, the third was called the *Mulet de Batuille*, a ship of 120 tunnes, and this ship belonged to certaine marchants of *Roan*.

When we came to them, we determined to lay the admiral aboard, the *Christopher* the vice-admirall, and the *Tyger* the smallest; but when we came nere them, they wayed, and the *Christopher*, being the headmost & the weathermost man, went roome with the admiral; the *Roebarge* went so fast that wee could not fetch her. The first that we came to was the *Mulet*, and her wee layed aboard, and our men entred and tooke her, which ship was the richest except the admiral; for the admiral had taken about 80 pound of golde, and the *Roeberge* had taken but 22 pound; and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knew it very well, for they were all in consort together, and had bene upon the coast of *Mina* two moneths and odde dayes; howbeit the *Roeberge* had bene there before them with another ship

*The English board
the
Frenchmen.*

of Diepe and a caravel, which had beaten all the coast, and were departed one moneth before our arriving there, and they three had taken about 700 pound of golde.

As soone as we had layed the ship aboard and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we set saile and gave chase to the other two ships, and chased them all day and night and the next day untill three-a-clocke in the afternoone, but we could not fetch them; and therefore, seeing that we brought ourselves very farre to leeward of our place, we left the chase and kept about againe to go with the shore.

The 7 day, I sent for the captaine, marchants & masters of the other ships, and when they came, we weighed the golde which we had from the Frenchmen, which weighed fifty pound and five ounces of golde. This done, we agreed to put men out of every ship into the prise to keepe her.

Fifty pound of golde taken in the French prise.

The 12 day, we came to the further place of the Mina, called Egrand, and, being come to an ancre, discharged all the marchants' goods out of the prise, and would have sold the ship with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but, because she was leake, they would not take her, but desired us to save their lives in taking them into our owne ships. Then we agreed to take out the victuals and sinke the ship, and divide the men among our ships.

The 15, at night, we made an end of discharging the prise, and divided all the Frenchmen, except foure which were sicke and not able to helpe themselves; which foure both the Christopher and the Tyger refused to take, leaving them in their ship alone in the night, so that about midnight I was forced to fetch them into our ship.

The 15 of April, mooving our company for the voyage to Benin, the most part of them all refused it.

The 16, seeing the unwillingnesse of the company to goe thither, we determined to spend as much time upon the coast as we could to the end we might make our voyage, and agreed to leave the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is foure leagues off, and the Christopher to goe to Weamba, which is ten leagues to the weatherward of this place; and, if any of them both should have sight of more sailes then they thought good to meddle withall, to come roome with their

Benin.

fellowes: to wit, first the Christopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with us.

*Our men
die of
sickness.*

We remained in this place called Egrand untill the last day of April, in which time many of our men fell sicke; and sixe of them died. And here we could have no traffique with the negros but three or foure dayes in the weeke, and all the rest of the weeke they would not come at us.

The 3 of May, not having the pinnesse sent us with cloth from the other ships, as they promised, we solde French cloth, and gave but three yards thereof to every suffe.

The 5 day, the negros departed, and told us they would come to us againe within foure dayes, which we determined there to tary, although we had divers of our men sicke.

Sickness.

The 8 day, all our cloth in the Minion being sold, I called the company together to know whether they would tary the sale of the cloth, taken in the prise, at this place or no. They answered that, in respect of the death of some of their men and the present sickness of twenty more, they would not tary but repaire to the other ships, of whom they had heard nothing since the 27 of April; and yet they had our pinnesse with them, onely to cary newes from one to another.

The 9 day, we determined to depart hence to our fellowes to see what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of don John¹.

The 10 day, in the morning, we sat saile to seeke the Christopher and the Tyger.

The 11 day, the captaine of the Christopher came to us, and told us that they could finde small doings at the places where they had bene.

The 12, William Crompton and I in our small pinnesse went to the Tyger and the Christopher at Perenine.

The 13, we sent away the Tyger to Egrand, because we found nothing to doe at Perenine worth the tarying for.

The 14, our great pinnesse came to us, and presently we put cloth into her, and sent her backe to Weamba, where she had bene before, and had taken there ten pound of golde.

¹ This is presumably a reference to the town of the negro prince, don John, situated near Queen Anne Point on the coast of the kingdom of Fetu.

The 15, the *Minion* came to us, and the next day we went ashore with our boats, and tooke but one ounce of golde.

The 19 day, having set saile, we came to an ancre before *Mowre*, and there we tarried two dayes but tooke not an ounce of golde.

The 21, we came to an ancre before don John's towne.

The 22, we manned our boats and went to shore, but the negros would not come at us. Then the captaine of the *Christopher* and I tooke a skiffe and eight men with us and went and talked with the negros, and they sayd that they would send a man to the great towne¹, where don John himselfe lay, to advertise him of our comming.

*The great
towne of
don John.*

The 23 we went ashore againe, and the negros tolde us that this day the marchants of don John would come downe; so we tarried there untill night, and no man would come to us; but divers of the negros made us signes to depart.

The 24 the captaine of the *Christopher* tooke his boat & went to *Mowre*, and, when he came thither, certaine negros came to him to know the price of his wares; but in the end there came an almade, which he judged came from the castle, and caused all the negros to depart from him; and when he saw they would come no more to him, he went ashore and tooke certaine men with him, and then the negros cast stones at them, & would not suffer them to come up to their towne. And when they saw that, they took certaine of the almades and put them to the sea, and afterwards departed. The same morning I went ashore at don John's towne, and tooke a white flag with me, but none of the negros would come to me, which caused us to judge that the Portugals were in the towne. After this, our boat came to us well manned, and I sent one man up to the towne with a white flag in his hand, but, when he was come thither, all the negros went away & would not speake with him. Then I sent one alone into the woods after them, but they in no case would come to us. When we saw that, we tooke twelve goats and fourteene hennes, which we found in the towne, and went aboard without doing any further hurt to the towne; and, when I came aboard, I found our pinnesse come from *Cormatin* [*Cormantin*], which had

*Cor-
matin.*

¹ Fetu, the chief town in the kingdom.

taken there two pound & five ounces of golde. Then, after much ado with the froward mariners, we went thitherwards with our ship, and the Christopher went to Mowre.

*A fight
with the
negros.*

The 25 day, the master of the Christopher sent his boat to the shore for balast, and the negros would have beaten the company from the shore, whereupon the company resisted them, and slew and hurt divers of them, and, having put them to flight, burned their towne and brake all their boats.

The 26 day, our pinnesse came to us from Cormatin, and had taken two pound & eleven ounces of golde; and John Shirife tolde us that the negros of that place were very desirous to have a ship come backe againe to their towne.

The 27, we wayed and went to Cormatin.

The 28, the Christopher came to us from Mowre, and trafiqued there two dayes.

The second day of June, the Tyger came to us from Egrand, and the pinnesse from Weamba, and they two had taken about fifty pound of golde since they departed from us.

The 4 day, we departed from Cormatin to plie up to Shamma, being not able to tary any longer upon the coast for lacke of victuals, and specially of drinke.

The 7 day, we had sight of five of the King of Portugal's ships, which came to an ancre besides the castle.

The 8 day, George and Binny came to us, and brought with them about two pound of golde.

The 10 day, in the morning, I tooke our small pinnesse, and the captaine of the Christopher with me, and manned her well, and went to the castle to view the Portugals' ships, and there we found one ship of about 300 tunne and foure caravels. When we had well viewed them, we returned backe againe to our ships which we found seven leagues at sea.

The 11 day, in the morning, we found ourselves wel shot toward Shamma, & the Tyger with us, but the Minion & the pinnesse had not wayed that night, so that we were out of sight of them; and, having brought ourselves in the weather of the Portugals' ships, we came to an ancre to tary for the Minion, or els we might have fetched Shamma. At night the Minion and the pinnesse came up to us, but could not fetch so farre to the

weatherward as we, and therefore they anchored about a league away from the castle, and we waited in the Christopher and went to room with her.

The 12 day, the Tyger came to room with us, and she and the Christopher, finding themselves to stand in great need of victuals, would have gone with the Portugals' ships to have fetched some of them forth; but our master and company would in no case consent to go with them, for feare of hanging when we came home; and the other two ships, being fully minded to have gone, and fearing that their owne company would accuse them, durst not go to them.

After this, by reason of the want of victuals in the pinnesse, which could receive no victuals from the other shippes but from us onely, we tooke out all our men, and put twelve Frenchmen into her, and gave them victuals to bring them to Shamma.

The 19 day, the Tyger and Minion arrived at Shamma, and the Christopher within two leagues off them, but could not fetch the winde by reason of the scantnesse of the winde, which hath bene so scant that in fifteene dayes we have plied to the windwards but twelve leagues, which before we did in one day and a night.

Note.

The 20 day, I tooke our pinnesse, and went to the towne of Shamma to speake with the captaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor so much as a hen to be bought, and all by reason of the accord, which he had made with the Portugals, and I, seeing that, departed peaceably from him.

The 21, I put such things as we had into our small pinnesse, and tooke one marchant of our ship, and another of the Tyger, and sent her to Hanta to attempt if she could doe anything there. That night they could do nothing, but were promised to have golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22) being come, we sent our pinnesse to Hanta againe, but there neither the captaine nor the negros durst traffike with us, but intised us from place to place, and all to no purpose.

This day, we put away our pinnesse with five and twenty Frenchmen in her, and gave them such victuals as we could

*They put
the*

*French-
men with
victuals
into the
pinnesse.*

spare, putting fifteene of them to the ransome of sixe crownes a man.

The 23 of June, our pinnesse came to us from Hanta, and tolde us that the negros had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpose.

*Shamma
burnt by
the
English.*

The 24, we tooke our boat and pinnesse and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and, because the capitaine thereof was become subject to the Portugals, we burned the towne, and our men, seeking the spoile of such trifles as were there, found a Portugal's chest, wherein was some of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter sent to him from the castle, whereby we gathered that the Portugall had bene there of a long time.

*Their
returne
home-
ward.*

The 25 day, about three of the clocke at afternoone, we set saile and put into the sea for our returne to England.

The last day of this moneth, we fell with the shore againe, and made our reckoning to be eighteene leagues to the weatherward of the place where we set off. When we came to make the land, we found ourselves to be eighteene leagues to the leeward of the place, where we set off, which came to passe by reason of the extreame currant that runneth to the eastward. When we perceived ourselves so abused, we agreed to cast about againe, and to lie as neere the winde as we could to fetch the line.

*The
currant.*

*S. Thome
iland.*

The seventh of July, we had sight of the ile of S. Thome, and thought to have sought the road to have ancred there; but the next morning the winde came about and we kept our course.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the iland of S. Thome, and, seeking the road, were becalmed neere the iland, and with the currant were put neere the shore, but could have no ground to ancre; so that we were forced to hoise out our pinnesse, and the other ships their skifs, to tow from the iland, which did litle good, but in the end the winde put us three leagues off the shore.

The tenth day, the Christopher and the Tyger cast about, whereby we judged them to have agreed together to goe seeke some ships in the road and to leave us. Our men were not willing to goe after them for feare of running in with the iland againe, and of putting ourselves into the same danger that we

were in the night before; but we shot off a piece, and put out two lights, and they answered us with lights againe. Whereupon we kept our course, and thought that they had followed us, but in the morning we could not see them, so that they left us willingly, and we determined to follow them no more. But the eleventh day we altered our opinion and course, and consented to cast about againe for the iland to seeke our ships; and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we met with them.

The 13 day, we fell againe with the iland of S. Thome; and the same night we found ourselves directly under the line.

This iland is a very high iland, and, being upon the west side of it, you shall see a very high pike, which is very small and streight, as it were the steeple of a church, which pike lieth directly under the line, and at the same south end of the iland to the westward thereof lieth a small iland, about a mile from the great iland.

The description of the ile of S. Thome.

The third of August, we departed from the ile of S. Thome, & met the winde at the south-west.

The 12 day, we were in the height of Cape Verde.

The 22 day, we fell with one of the iles of Cape Verde, called the ile of Salt, and, being informed by a Scotchman, that we tooke among the Frenchmen upon the coast, that there were fresh victuals to be had, we came to an ancre there.

The iland of Salt.

The 23 day, in the morning, we manned our skiffe and went ashore and found no houses, but we saw foure men, which kept themselves alwayes farre from us; as for cattell, we could finde none, but great store of goats, and they were so wilde that we could not take above three or foure of them; but there we had good store of fish, and upon a small iland, which lay by the same, we had great store of sea-birds.

At night, the Christopher brake her cable and lost an ancre, so that she could tary no longer, so we all wayed and set saile. Upon the same iland we left the Scotchman, which was the occasion of our going aland at that place, but how he was left we could not tell; but, as we judged, the people of the iland found him sleeping and so caried him away; for at night I went myselfe to the iland to seeke him but could hear nothing of him.

The 24 day, the master of the Tyger came aboard us, & tolde

us that his men were so weake, and the shippe so leake, that he was not able to keepe her above the water, and therefore requested us to go backe againe to the iland that we might discharge her and give her up; but we intreated him to take paine with her a while, and we put a French carpenter into her to see if he could finde the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both those that were hole and the sicke also, and we found that in all the three ships were not above thirty sound men.

The great inconvenience by late staying upon the coast of Guinie.

The 25, we had sight of the ile of S. Nicholas, and the day following, of the other iles, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Anthony; which foure iles lie the one from the other north-west and by west, south-east and by east.

The 26, we came againe with the iland of S. Anthony and could not double the cape. This day, Philip Jones, the master of the Christopher, came aboard us, who had beene aboard the Tyger, and tolde us that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, because she was leake and the master very weake; and sayd further, he had agreed with the master and the company that, if the next day we could double the iland, we should runne to the leeward of it and there discharge her; but, if we could not double it, then to put in betwixt the iland of S. Vincent and S. Anthony to see if we could discharge her.

The third day of September, I went aboard the Tyger, with the master and marchants with me, to view the shippe and men; and we found the shippe very leake, and onely six labouring men in her, whereof one was the master-gunner; so that we, seeing that they were not able to keepe the ship, agreed to take in the men and of the goods what we could save, and then to put the ship away.

The fift day, we went to discharge the Tyger.

The Tyger given up.

The eight day, having taken out the artillery, goods, victuals and gold of the Tyger, we gave her up 25 degrees by north the line.

The 27, we had sight of two of the iles of the Azores, S. Mary and S. Michael.

The fourth of October, we found ourselves to be 41 degrees and a halfe from the line.

The sixth day, the Christopher came to us and willed us to put

with the cape [Cape Finisterre], for they also were so weake that they were not able to keepe the sea; and we, being weake also, agreed to goe for Vigo, being a place which many Englishmen frequent.

The 10 day, the Christopher went roome with the cape, but we having a mery wind for England, and fearing the danger of the enemies, which ordinarily lie about the cape; besides, not knowing the state of our countrey and Spaine, and, although it were peace, yet there was little hope of friendship at their hands, considering the voyage that we had made, and we also being so weake that by force and violence we could come by nothing, and doubting also that the King of Portugall, knowing of our being there, might worke some way with the councill of Spaine to trouble us; and further, considering that, if we did put in with any harbor, we should not be able to come out againe till we sent for more men into England, which would be a great charge, and losse of time, and meanes of many dangers. All these things pondred, we agreed to shoot off two pieces of ordinance to warne the Christopher, and then we went our course for England. She, hearing our pieces, followed us, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning it was thicke, and we could not see her in the afternoone neither, so that we suspected that either she was gone with Spaine, or els that she should put foorth more sailes then we in the night, and was shot ahead of us, so that then we put forth our topsailes and went our course with England.

At the time when the Christopher left us, we were within 120 leagues of England and 45 leagues north-west and by west from Cape Finister; and at the same time in our ships we had not above sixe mariners and sixe marchants in health, which was but a weake company for such a ship to seeke a forren harbour.

The 16 day, about sixe of the clocke at night, we met with a great storme at the west-south-west & west, and our men being weake and not able to handle our sailes, we lost the same night our maine-saile, fore-saile, and spreet-saile, & were forced to lie ahulling untill the eighteenth day, and then we made ready an olde course of a fore-saile, and put it to the yard, and therewith finding ourselves far shot into the sleeve, we bare with our owne

*Extreame
weaknesse
of our
men.*

coast; but that fore-saile continued not above two houres, before it was blowen from the yard with a freat, and then we were forced to lie ahull againe untill the nineteenth day of October in the morning, and then we put an olde bonnet to our foreyard, which, by the good blessing and providence of God, brought us to the Ile of Wight, where we arrived the 20 of October in the afternoone.

146. THE *Christopher Bennett* LOST ON THE FRENCH COAST. DEPOSITION OF THOMAS BANISTER. 20 JANUARY 1560¹.

[Thomas Banister, citizen and skinner of London, examined before Judge Lewis, stated] that at the tyme articulate, this respondent was parte owner of the said shipp, callid the Christopher Bennett, and of her tacle and apparell. . . . That the said Thomas Jonson was hirid to serve and sayle in the said shipp as one of the gonners of the same, and waxis made and agreed with him after the rate of XX^s per monethe, to be contentid and paid unto him immediatlye at and upon the arryvall and return of the forsaid shipp into the ryver of Thames. . . . That the said Thomas Jonson servyd and did the office of a gonnar in the fornamid shipp the space of V monethes at the least; and afterwarde in the said shipp's cumminge homewardesthe said Jonson died.

147. DEPOSITION OF JOHN BRADLEY. 9 OCTOBER 1560¹.

[John Bradley, mariner, of the parish of All Saints, Barking, near the Tower of London, examined before Judge Lewis, stated] that the said shipp articulid, callid the Xposer Bennett, in her voyadge from Gynney hethur bownde, perishid and was utterleye lost in the sea upon the quoaast of France. Of wiche shipp Jeffrey Vaughan was sometyme owner². . . . [Furthermore], for theis xxvij yeres this deponent, beinge a mariner and

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/13. Extract. Printed for the first time.

² Vaughan was owner of the *Christopher* in 1553 (PRO, HCA 24/24, no. 161).

usinge the seas, and takinge the chardge of master in manye and sondrye goodes shippes bothe to the Newe Fownde land, Russia and other places, hathe knowen and sene firmelye the custome and usage specified in this article to be observid and kept: that is, when in any voyadge the shippes and goodes of merchantes have perishid and ben lost homewardes, loke as suche merchantes and owners have ben forcid to sustayne and beare suche losses and hinderance, evyn soe the mariners servinge in any suche shippes have forborne and stode unto the losses of ther wages, as at this presente the same custome is yet observid and kept. The contrarye wherof this jurate hathe neither knowen nor herd of, savinge, if enye of the merchantes goodes fortune to be savid, the mariners have ther allowance with the owner rata per mile. And this he knowithe moast certen and trewe¹.

148. PORTUGUESE ANGER AT TOWERSON'S THIRD VOYAGE. DOM FRANCISCO PEREIRA, PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR IN CASTILE, TO KING SEBASTIAN OF PORTUGAL. ANTWERP. 21 NOVEMBER [1558?]².

My Lord. . . I have advice by dom Alonso de Cordova that the ships of England, which went to Mina, are expected, as your highness will see by his letter which I send you; and also your highness will see the care which I have taken in this matter, by the copy of the letter which the king wrote to dom Alonso. On

¹ This evidence about the loss of the *Christopher Bennett* has been preserved as the result of a dispute between Thomas Banister, clearly one of the promoters of Towerson's third Guinea voyage, and Joan Jonson, the wife of the deceased Thomas Jonson. Joan Jonson brought an action in the Admiralty Court against Banister. She argued that the wages of her late husband ought to be paid to her as his heir. But Banister countered with the argument that Thomas Jonson had agreed to 'serve and sayle in the sayd shippe as one of the gonners of the same, and should have wages in that behalf after the rate of XX^s by the moneth to be contented and payed unto him immediately at and upon the arryvall and returne of the foresayd shippe into the river of Thamise, and not otherwise'; and because the *Christopher* had not returned, but was lost at sea, he was under no obligation to pay. More evidence about the dispute may be found in a libel (PRO, HCA 24/31, no. 206), wherein the year of the voyage—1558—is actually specified.

² Torre do Tombo, gaveta 15, maço 18, no. 20. Extract, translated. Printed for the first time. The year of this document is not stated, but inherent evidence leaves no doubt that it is 1558.

the tenth of the present month, I was advised by Ruy Mendes¹ that the said ships had arrived, because he, as a good Portuguese and a dependant of your highness, has a great knowledge of everything which is fitting for the service of your highness. . . .

As soon as they gave me his letter in Burcellas [Brussels], I went to the house of Gonçalo Peres, secretary of the affairs of England, with this request made to the king [Philip II of Spain], which I send your highness. Peres forthwith despatched one of his men to the abbey², where the king was, and he wrote to him to tell him how just was the thing I was asking, and the king commanded that the letter (of which I send a copy herewith to your highness) should forthwith be sent to count Feria³; and, because this seems to me to be a matter of much importance to your service, if my son, dom Joham, had been well, I would have sent him to England⁴; but I have him very sick with a very painful double ague, and in his place I sent Manoel de Figueiredo, a dependant of your highness, with the letter to count de Feria; and I made him a procuration empowering him to demand, receive and collect everything which it was possible to get to hand from these ships, which have come from Mina, and to cause to be put into force the bond, which those men had given, of one thousand five hundred cruzados. All this I did, knowing very well that none of these things could be accomplished, because the king and queen are not parties to the doing thereof, as befits the service of your highness, desiring much from them; but this business of Mina is in the hands of persons who cannot do otherwise, whereby your highness [ought to know?]⁵ that, if you do not command them to be severely punished, and if you do not order a fleet to be at the coast of Mina, which may send both the French and the English likewise to the bottom of the sea without [mercy?]⁵, this business may have no end in her kingdom. When this is seen to be done,

¹ Ruy Mendes was the chief Portuguese factor at Antwerp.

² Grumendal abbey, about two leagues from Brussels.

³ Count de Feria was the Spanish ambassador in England.

⁴ João Pereira did, in fact, go to England in June 1559 (see Santarem, *Quadro elementar das relações politicas e diplomaticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo* (1842-76), xv, 111).

⁵ MS. mutilated.

I am very sure that the king will not be in the least displeased, because he is angry enough [for his?]¹ part that your highness is so badly treated. I have written to count de Feria at length, and I think that he will do everything he can in this business, so that your highness will be well served. . . . From Anvers on the twenty-first of November of [1558?]¹. Dom Francisco Pereira

149. KING PHILIP II TO COUNT DE FERIA. BRUSSELS. 20 JANUARY 1559².

The ambassador to my dear nephew, the King of Portugal, has complained to me of the delay that has occurred in settling the business, respecting which I have written to you on several occasions and lastly on November 14 . . . touching the English ships, that had arrived at Portsmouth, laden with gold and pepper, which they had brought from the coast of Mina, to a greater amount than was covered by their sureties for 1,500 crowns. He says that, notwithstanding all his efforts, he cannot obtain justice, nor have they delivered to him any of the merchandise from the ships, or executed the bond, and he begs me to write to you again and to the queen on the matter, which I do most willingly, as I look upon his affairs as my own. I enjoin you, therefore, to use your best endeavours to obtain a settlement as soon as possible.

150. ENGLISH FACTORS IN BARBARY IN 1558. DEPOSITION OF JOHN CHAMBERS. 20 NOVEMBER 1559³.

[John Chambers, citizen and founder of London, examined before Judge Lewis, stated] that of this deponentes certain knowledge the said Philipp Westcott articulate⁴ hathe utterid

¹ MS. mutilated.

² *Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1558-67*, p. 24. Extract.

³ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/12. Extract. Printed for the first time.

⁴ Westcott was associated with the company of English merchants trading to Barbary for many years. This extract shows that he was one of the first Englishmen to take up residence in that country. There are other records which prove that he lived continuously in Barbary between 1562 and 1568, during which time he worked for various English merchants, exchanging English cloth for Barbary sugar, and visiting the town of Morocco (PRO, HCA 13/16. 30 April 1569; HCA 13/18. 14 Dec. 1570).

and sould suche wares and merchaundizes of the said Arthure Dawbeney¹ in the parties of Barbarye as from tyme to tyme have cummon unto his handes, togeathurs with his masters, the said Sir Thomas Whites. And with ther goodes and merchaundizes have (*sic*) bargaynid and bought other wares as might moast redowne and growe for ther commoditie in those parties. For this deponent, beinge a traveler and merchant into the said parties of Barbarye for himselfe, hathe sene the said Westcott soe to utter and sell the said Dawbeney's goodes. Althoughe of this deponentes certen knowledge he had a servaunte of his owne there, yet the whole doinge was committid unto the fornamid Westcott, beinge there reputid and taken for factor and doer of bothe ther affares and busines. And farder, this jurate deposithe for trowthe and veritie that, in the monethe of September *anno* 1558 last, the said Philipp Westcott declarid and tolde this examinant (as sondrye and manye tymes he had said before) that, because he had intelligence from his master and the said Dawbeney that gome was here a marvelous good ware, he had travellyd the contreys to provide and buye suche quantitie of gome as he myght gett. At wiche tyme, he lett this jurate to see xx^{ti} kittalls [quintals] of gome, then beinge in bagges, wiche he had in his possession and kepinge, and the same had bargaynid and bought, as he affirmyd, at a towne there in the lowe contrey callyd Tarrathant [T'aroudant?] of the kinges factor and doer, namyd Sydy Hamaben Scrye, or the lyke, who was deputie and the onlye rewler for the chefe kinge there. In wiche yere of 1558 aforesaid, there raynid and was in that contrey a vehement and grete plawge; withe the wiche the said Sydy Hamaben Scrye, beinge towchyd and lienge sick theron, dyed. Seinge that from the said monethe of September untill the monethe of Julye last the said Philipp Westcott was in the quiett and peacyble possession of the said xx^{ti} kintalls gome, so by him providid and bought to the use and proffett aforesaid. For this deponent seithe that in October followinge he departid and came from thence by the parties of Spayne and so hethur to London. . . . [Furthermore], that he, this respondent, was in

¹ Arthur Dawbeney was active in the Barbary trade between 1555 and 1570.

Barbarye at the tyme libellatid; . . . and at his cumminge from thence the first tyme he left in the handes of the said Philipp Westcott a reckoning of abowte xxx^{ds}¹ matter in clothe. . . .

[To further questions he replied] that he canne bettur understand the Arabians' language then speake the same; [and] at his first goinge he neither knewe the language ne fashion of the contrey.

151. VOYAGE OF THE *Mary Martin* AND THE *John Evangelist* TO THE BARBARY COAST IN 1559. DEPOSITION OF CHARLES HOSKINS. 31 OCTOBER 1559².

[Charles Hoskins, citizen and scissor merchant of London, examined before Judge Lewis, stated] that the said Philipp Westcott *annis et mensibus articulatis*³, beinge apprentice and servant unto the said Sir Thomas White, was and is factor for him in the parties of Barbarye articulated, beinge so acceptid, reputid, and taken; [and] did justlye buy, bartre, or by eny other just or lefall tytle, weys, or meanes, hadd or cum bye every suche numbere of kintalls of gumme of the same more callid Attomon Bensaid. [But that] he belevithe that the same Westcott . . . did by unefall meanes, and contrarye to the lawes, ordinaunces and rewles of the kinge of Barbarye, verye secretlye and unefullye gett into his possession xx^{te} kyntalls of gumme for the use of the said Sir Thomas and Arthur Dawby, everye kintall, as he belevithe, extendinge to the value of vj^{ds} and demi⁴, wiche makithe v^s. iiij^d currant money of England and not above⁵. Wiche xx^{te} kintalls, so by the said Wescott unlawfully providid, gotten and cummon by, wer afterwarde seasid and stayed to the use of the said kinge and taken clene away from the said Wescott, and by the auctoritie of the said kinge were put to sale in open marckett. . . . [Furthermore], that one Nicolas

¹ Ducats.

² High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/12. Extract. Printed for the first time.

³ See the Libels in PRO, HCA 24/30, nos. 99, 115, which refer to the years 1557-9.

⁴ 6½ ducats.

⁵ I.e. each ducat was worth 5s. 4d. sterling.

Lawrence, factor for this respondent and the said Sleade¹ in the said parties of Barbarye *annis et mensibus articulatis*, did justlye and lefellye provide and buye for them in Barbary xxix kentalls and demi of gomme with ther money, goodes, wares and merchandizes, and for ther uses; and the same bought, did cause to be ladon uppon borde the shipp articulatif, callid y^e John Evangelist, then in those parties ridinge and remayninge; and consignid y^e said gomme to this respondent and the said Sleade under y^e proper and usuall marckes here to be delyverid unto them.

152. DEPOSITION OF JOHN SLEADE. 6 NOVEMBER 1559².

[John Sleade, citizen and mercer of London, examined before Judge Lewis, stated] that in certen and some affares and occu-pienges in the trade of merchaundizes the said Sir Thomas White and Arthure Dawbeney have ben partners and occupiers togethurs in the parties of Barbarye; [and] that abowte the tyme articulatyd the said Philipp Wescott, as factor and servaunte to the said Sir Thomas White, did their (*sic*) in the parties of Barbarye provide and gett into his handes abowte the number and quantitie of twentye kintalls of gumme for the use and commoditie of the said Sir Thomas White and Arthure Dawbeney, after the rate of vj^{ds} and demi everye kintall, makinge Englishhe money v^s. iiij^d everye [ducat] or thereabowtes. Wiche gumme, as he belevithe, was not lefellye and accordinge to the lawes of that realme providid and bought, because the partie, wiche sould the same, had noe authoritie to make sale or utter the same, accordinge to the lawe of that realme, withowte speciall grant and license first obteynid of the kinge. [Also] that un-lefellye and contrarye to the lawes of that realme the forsaid Philipp Wescott possessid and had the same gumme the space of viij dayes or thereabowtes. [Furthermore], that gumme is a merchaundize and ware in the said parties of Barbaryes, beinge

¹ Charles Hoskins and John Sleade were partners in the Barbary trade, and they had brought an action against White and Dawbeney arising out of the incident described in the documents.

² High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/12. Extract. Printed for the first time.

the kinges merchaundizes. That noe merchant may provide or shipp the same withowte licence first obteynid and had from the said kinge. And seithe, because the fornamid Philipp Wescott had gotten the said xx^{ti} kintalls of gumme withowte auctoritie or licence, and had shippid the same contrarye to the lawes and ordenaunces of that realme (the same beinge openly knowen), the forsaid gumme, as wares prohibitid withowte speciall grant or licence, wer by auctoritie from the said kinge by his justices under his seale taken and had away from the said Wescott as goodes forfeytid. [Moreover], that Nicholas Lawrence, factor for this respondent and his partener Charles Hoskins, did justlye and lefullye bargayne and buye in open marckett of the kinges merchante, who had auctoritie to seise and sell the said xx^{ti} kintalls of gumme, xxix kintalls and demi, after the rate of xxj^{ds} [*sic*] everye kintall, wiche he ladid and shippid in the John Evaungelist articulate for this respondent and the said Hoskins lefullye and withowte restraynt.

[He stated further], that by auctoritie of this courte, after the arryvall of the said shipp here in the ryver of Thames, there was arrestid and stayed at the sute of the said Sir Thomas White and Arthure Dawbeney xx^{to} kintalls of gumme, parcell and parte of the complement of xxix kintalls and demi of gumme aforesaid, unjustlye and contrarye to lawe. To wiche arrest, this respondent and his said partener, apperinge, gave suerties to answer the lawe. [He concluded] that every kintall of gumme was and is here worth in London vj^{li}. xiiij^s. iiiij^d and not above.

153. DEPOSITION OF GILBERT BOWTHE. 20 NOVEMBER 1559¹.

[Gilbert Bowthe, servant of Sir William Garrard, knight, citizen and alderman of London, examined before Judge Lewis, stated] that abowte June last, whiles the said shipp articulate callid the John Evaungelist lay and was in the parties of Barberye, wherof this examinant was then purser, as at this presente he is, the said Philipp Wescott, beinge nominatid and

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/12. Extract. Printed for the first time.

reputid there to be the said Sir Thomas White's servaunte, did upon a certen day send upon bord the said shipp for the same Sir Thomas his master's behowfe, so far as this deponent knoweth, as parcell and parte of the said Sir Thomas White's complement and ladinge, abowte six hoggedheds with gomme, the weight or just quantitie therof he knowethe not. Wiche hoggedheds wer marckyd withe the marck depictid and made in the margent of the said libell. And the same, beinge so receyvid into the said John Evaungelist by this examinant and other the mariners, remaynid and was within the said shipp abowte viij dayes space. And at leyinthe, their came upon borde to them a certen Jewe, bringinge thithur with him a certen writinge in parchement, scyinge he came from the justices of the shore, willinge that the forsaid gomme shuld be brought on shore to them. And seithe that, because they knewe not the said merchants mynde at that tyme, who was journeyed upp into the contrey to the kinge, this deponent and his cumpany deteynid and kept the said gome iiij dayes longer perforce, untill ther said merchant Philipp Wescott came down. By whose consent and will of the shore sent unto them, the said gome was furthe of the said shipp dischargid and exoneratid and sent unto the shore. But for what cause or matter the same said happenyd, this deponent knowithe not. And seithe that abowte a sevenithe after the said dischargenge and unladinge of the same gome, one Nicholas Lawrence, servaunte and doer for the bovenamid Slead and Hoskins, eftsones sent upon borde the said gome agayne with a more quantitie for his said masters, but how or after what sort he got the same this deponent cannot sey. Wiche gome withe other goodes and merchandizes quietlye they brought from thence hethur in the said shipp. . . .

[In reply to the interrogatory, he stated] that because this respondent still kept and deteynid the said gome upon borde the forsaid shipp and would not delyver the same accordinge to the commaundement gevon, untill he knewe the said Wescott's mynde, he withe Thomas Whynard and 'l'homas Berman wer committid unto pryson, where they remaynid abowte fyfity dayes. And ther shippes wer imbargid from eny ladinge.

154. DEPOSITION OF JOHN CHAMBERS. 20 NOVEMBER 1559¹.

[Examined before Judge Lewis, he stated that] at the goinge furthe of the last shippes for those parties this jurate imbarkyd and shippid himselfe in the Mary Martyn, then bownde for Barbarye in the cumpanye of the John Evaungelist, wiche went from hence abowte Aprill last, and arryvid there in May followinge. . . . And there [in Barbary] the order and custome is for everye Englisheman to shewe forthe his licence to the officers at the watersyde before he can shipp enye goodes, wiche the said Philipp Wescott dyd, of this deponentes sight and knowledge accordinglye. And seithe that within the said xij dayes duringe the tyme that the forsaid gome was on bord the said John Evaungelist, a certen Jewe, callid Rootay, who had provydyd and procurid from the alcaallye [alcaide], the kinges factor and doer there, a lettre to unshipp and bringe on land the forsaid gome, wiche the said Philipp Wescott had justlye provydyd and bought *pro ut supradixit*, as it was spoken and declarid. Wiche alcaallye succedyd the rowme and place of the fornamid Sydy Hameben Serye, of whome the said Philipp Wescott provydyd and had the same gome. And uppon intelligence and knowledge of the same lettre, the said Philipp rode unto the bovesaid alcaallye, to whom openinge the maner how he had the said gome and shewinge unto him his licence for the same, he brought downe with him contrarye lettres that the said gome shuld remayne and not be towchid ne medlyd withall. Yet contrarye to the same, not past iij dayes before the said shipp's departure thence, the same gome was brought on land from of borde the said John Evaungelist. [Furthermore] that after the said Jewe, callid Rowltay, had gotten the saide gome to be broughte on land, and the same had receyvid into his handes and custodye, the fornamid Nicholas Lawrence incontinent weyed the said gome and sent the same uppon borde agayne. But first he raysid and did cut away the said Dawbeney's marckes, wiche was made uppon the caske of the same.

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/12. Extract. Printed for the first time.

155. DEPOSITION OF REGINALD HOLLINGWORTHE. 30 NOVEMBER 1559¹.

[Reginald Hollingworthe², servant of George Smithe, examined before Judge Lewis, stated that] abowte Julye last this examinant was in the parties of Barberye abowte the trade of merchandizes for his master, the said George Smithe; where at the arryvall and cumminge of the shipp articulatid, callid the John Evaungelist, this deponent ladid and chardgid for his said master certen almons and other wares. And then it was noysid and spoken that the said Philipp Wescott, namid in the second article, was factor and doer for the said Sir Thomas White and Arthur Dawbeney there; who of this deponentes sight and knowledge sent uppon borde the said John Evaungelist uppon a certen day abowte the number of xxⁱⁱ kintalls of gomme in certen bagges, wiche, beinge eruptid and put furthe of the same, was storyed and put in hoggesheddes there, of this jurates sight. And there the said gome remaynid and lay abowte viij or ix dayes togeathurs. And seithe that after the said ladinge therof, one Rota, a Jewe, havinge gotten all the gome in the said contrey into his handes and possession, practizid to have the same gome, wiche the fornamid Philipp Wescott had shippid and ladon, as is aforesaid, to be brought on shore agayne. And the bettur to bringe his purpose to passe, he fownde the meanes to deteyne and stay all Englishemens' goodes on shore from shippinge and carreinge on borde, untill he might have the said gome dischardgid and brought on land. Uppon wiche stay, the fornamid Philipp Wescott travelyd upp into the contrey unto the chieffe justice, from whome he obteynid, wiche he brought downe withe him, a certen licence and lettere, not onlye permittinge all Englishemen to goe foreward and lade ther goodes wiche they had there providyd and bought, but also that he might still possess and kepe the same his gome before by him providyd and shippyd. And theruppon, all Englishemen sent ther goodes uppon borde ther shippes, and all that while the said Wescott was in possession of the said gome.

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations. PRO, HCA 13/12. Extract. Printed for the first time.

² Hollingworthe was still trading with Barbary in 1567 (PRO, SP 12/44, no. 63) and in 1577 (PRO, SP 12/111, no. 34).

WEST AFRICA

TO ILLUSTRATE CONTEMPORARY LAND AND SEA ROUTES

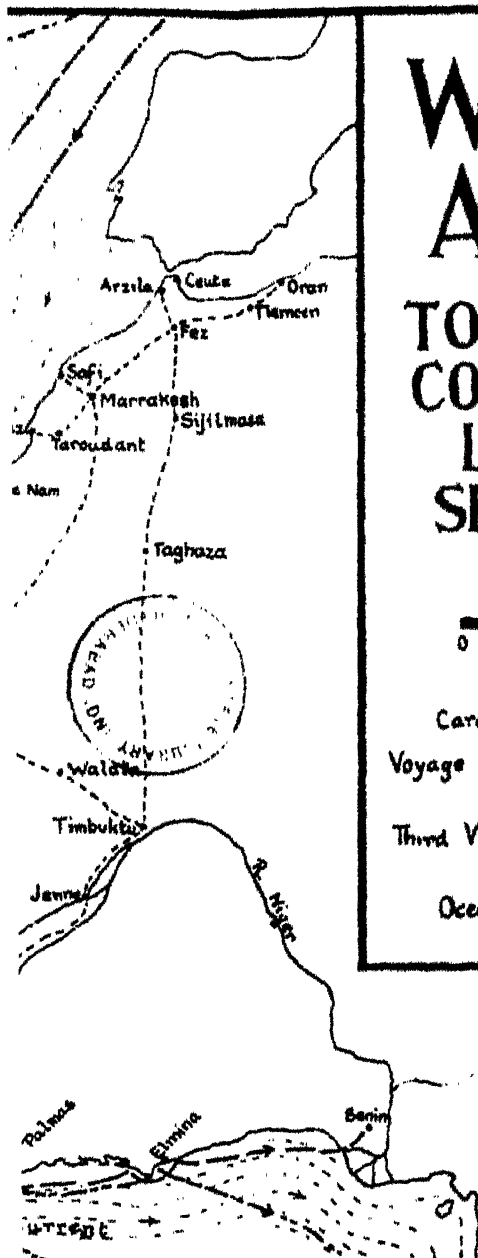
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Caravan routes

Voyage of Windham to Benin
in 1553

Third Voyage of Towerson to
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Ocean Currents



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